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Grammar of

PALESTINIAN JEWISH

ARAMAIC

BY

WM. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT.

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PREFACE

THIS introduction to Palestinian Jewish Aramaic presupposes a general knowledge of Hebrew or of some other Semitic language, such as Syriac or Arabic. It is intended primarily to equip students for the reading of the Targums (OJ) and the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim (PTM), and to provide a help to the study of the Aramaic elements contained in the writings of the New Testament.

The Aramaic of the books of Ezra and Daniel is perhaps best learned after a study has been made of one of the dialects just named. Its forms and uses, therefore, are noted in a supplementary way throughout the grammar. At the same time those who choose to begin with Old Testament Aramaic (OTA) may do so with the help of the special paradigms at the end of the book and by concentrating chiefly on the notes marked OTA, which have been placed towards the close of most of the sections into which the grammar is divided.

The pioneer work of Gustaf Dalman is everywhere presupposed and made use of. His grammar of OJ and PTM formulates the now accepted principles of their treatment (see p. 9) and provides an inexhaustible store-house of material for further investigation. In accordance with his conclusions the punctuation of the supra-linear MSS. is taken as a standard, although transliterated uniformly into the familiar sublinear system and so, in some particulars, made more precise (see § 2).

Dalman's grammar does not include syntax, so that the notes on syntax are a special feature of this grammar and are based almost entirely on the writer's personal observations. The references

added to the syntactical notes, and in other cases also, are intended to show the range of the evidence found, and to make it easy to test and supplement the conclusions drawn. They are not intended to be used by beginners. The evidence for the syntax of PTM has been taken wholly from the texts of Dalman's *Dialektproben*.

The scantiness of the material available for the study of OTA often makes the formulation of general statements about it difficult and practically inexpedient. The method adopted, therefore, has frequently been that of giving a precise numerical statement of the facts. The paradigm of the verb, also, has been made, more closely than is usual, a reproduction of existing verbal forms. Strack's edition of the texts, in his *Biblical Aramaic Grammar*, is assumed to be referred to, except when otherwise stated. Special note has been made of the evidence of the supralinear MSS. of OTA, of which Strack gives specimens.

References to the Targum of Onkelos are made implicitly to the supralinear editions of Kahle, Merx, and Praetorius, so far as they go (see Literature, p. 8). In the case of Gen. 1–4 and 24, the source is Merx's *Chrestomathy*, for other parts of the Pentateuch, Berliner's *Onkelos* is used. The references to Dalman's *Dialektproben* are made by means of figures referring to the page, paragraph, and line, generally without mention of the title, sometimes with the abbreviation Chrest. prefixed.

Much of the material in most sections of the grammar may be passed over on a first reading. Students working without a teacher are recommended to confine themselves at first to the notes marked with an asterisk. One or two sections which should be read completely are similarly marked. Those who have a fair working knowledge of Hebrew may begin to read the chapters of Genesis contained in Merx's *Chrestomathy* after they have completed § 8 of the *Grammar*. Only texts with a supralinear vocalization should

be used at first. Dalman's interesting *Dialektproben*, if it can be obtained, may be commenced at p. 14, after a few chapters of the Targum have been read. [Unfortunately the *Dialektproben* is now out of print and there is no immediate prospect of its re-issue.] The publication of further selections from the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud, with an English vocabulary, would be of great assistance to English students of this literature.

The language of the *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, recently edited and translated by A. Cowley (1923), is closely related to the idioms of OJ, PTM, and OTA. The announcement by the editor of his intention to publish a grammar of the dialect of these papyri makes it superfluous to apologize for its exclusion from the scope of the present work. Still it may be said that, on the scale of treatment here attempted, no more than three dialects could properly be included. A more comprehensive work must be preceded by other detailed studies, which do not yet exist.

It is a very pleasant duty to acknowledge the help and encouragement the writer has received from the members of the *Society for Old Testament Study*, both individually and collectively. Without the assurance of their support and interest this grammar would never have been published nor expanded into its present form. Special thanks are due to my friend, the energetic and resourceful secretary, Dr. T. H. Robinson, of Cardiff University College.

I am greatly obliged to the readers of the Clarendon Press for their vigilant attention to every detail and to the Delegates for the cordiality of their acceptance of my work. My Assistant, Mr. E. J. Harris, B.D., has twice read through the proofs and has verified many references and has helped to remove inaccuracies that might otherwise have escaped detection.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

Glasgow, 5th March, 1924.

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PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

DALMAN'S *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic* (Leipzig, 1894) opened a new period in the study of the Aramaic dialects. It separated clearly for the first time the dialects of the Targums, Talmuds, and Midrashim, and it supplied a coherent and correct vocalization of the grammatical forms of the Targum of Onkelos and of the related dialect used in the Palestinian Talmud. The vocalization was based upon Yemenite MSS., which employed supralinear vowel signs. The second edition of Dalman's grammar (1905), along with his dictionary (1901), supplemented and revised his early work, but did not change its fundamental character.

It was now made clear that the Targums of Onkelos (Pentateuch) and Jonathan (Prophets) were written in practically the same Aramaic dialect (OJ), somewhat modified by the influence of the Hebrew originals, and that the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim preserved the remains of another dialect (PTM), closely related to the former. Because of this relationship Dalman supplied the unvocalized texts of PTM with vowels determined for the most part by the analogy of the supralinear tradition of the Targums. In this whole literature he saw, with good reason, the best avenue of approach to the Aramaic speech of Palestine in the time of Christ and a valuable help to the study of the language and thought of the New Testament.

The origin, character, and variations of the supralinear MSS. of

the Targums have been greatly elucidated by the patient and extensive researches of Paul Kahle (published in 1913). His conclusions may be summarized as follows. The oldest and best tradition of the Aramaic of the Targums is contained in MSS. of Babylonian (i.e. Mesopotamian) origin. The Yemenite MSS. represent this tradition modified by the principles of the school of Tiberias in Palestine. The measure of Palestinian influence increased as time went on, so that the older Yemenite MSS. are nearer to the Babylonian tradition than the later. The sublinear vocalization of Berliner's edition of Onkelos goes back ultimately to a MS. which used the supralinear system. The forms of Berliner's edition are not real Aramaic forms, but through them we may reach a supralinear tradition similar to that of the MSS. which employ a supralinear vocalization.

The texts of PTM are to a large extent stories written in a simple popular style. The language, according to Dalman, is that of Galilee in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Part of what is contained in the Midrashim may be dated as late as the sixth century. There are some differences of vocabulary between the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, but no very obvious differences of grammar. The Aramaic of these Targums has a more literary character than the language of the Galilean stories, and is supposed to have been moulded first in Judea. The Targums themselves may not have received their final literary form before the fifth century, but the idiom in which they are written probably goes back at least to the second century and perhaps earlier. Dalman's interpretation of the phraseology of the New Testament in the light of Aramaic usage proceeds on the view that we have in OJ and PTM, respectively, close approximations to the literary and popular forms of the language of Palestine in the time of Christ.[1]

[1] See especially Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, Introduction, section viii. The most recent attempt to show the influence of Aramaic upon a NT writer is

§ 2.[1] ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In unvocalized texts (PTM) א, ה, ו, and י are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: מִלָּה = מילה, אִתִּיל = איתיל, עִגְלָא = עיגלא, מִקְטַל = מיקטל, אִנּוּן = אינון, הָכָא or חָכָּא = חכא, כֻּלִּיהּ = כוליה, גְּבְרָא = גוברא, אִתְיְלִיד = איתילִיד. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (עיגלא) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (איתילִיד) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like אִינּוּן, מִיקְטַל, &c. In unvocalized texts ו and י may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. לִילְוָן = לילון), and יי for diphthongal *ai* or for י pronounced as a double consonant, with daghesh (e.g. קַיָּם = קיים). א and ה both represent a final long vowel, especially *ā*. In PTM and OJ א is the more commonly used. In OTA א is preferred in some cases, e.g. to represent the emphatic ending א (§ 8), ה in other cases, e.g. in the feminine termination ה־. In מאן (who?) and עאל (he entered) א denotes the short *ă*, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions מִן and עַל. But מִן and עַל are generally used. Final diphthongal *ai* is often denoted by אי.

2. The punctuation of the MSS. of Babylonian origin published by Kahle is by no means uniform, varying through several stages from a quite simple system to one which is highly complex. The system of the Yemenite MSS. is a variation of the simple Babylonian system, and the resemblances and differences of these two are, principally, what is explained in the following notes.

C. F. Burney's *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922). It gives a most valuable synopsis of the Aramaic idioms and constructions which may be looked for in the Greek of NT.

[1] This section may be omitted when the grammar is being read for the first time. A knowledge of the ordinary Hebrew alphabet is presupposed.

3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for daghesh (a supralinear ּ or ˃) and raphe (supralinear ֿ or ˷), which, however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS. do not employ daghesh at all (as in Merx, pp. 57 ff.), others regularly use the Palestinian sign (so in Judges and Joshua as edited by Praetorius). The supralinear MSS. of OTA in Strack occasionally exhibit the Babylonian signs for daghesh (Dan. 4. 24, 5. 8, 12, &c.) and raphe (Dan. 5. 7, 12).

4. The supralinear punctuation at first had no sign equivalent to the Palestinian silent shewa. Some Babylonian MSS., however, which use a complex system of punctuation, employ the sign for vocal shewa ambiguously as in the Palestinian system. In Yemenite MSS. the shewa sign usually represents only vocal shewa, although in some few cases it may represent Palestinian silent shewa also.

5. Pathaḥ furtive is seldom represented in either the Babylonian or the Yemenite MSS., but was, presumably, pronounced in the positions indicated by the Palestinian tradition, and so may be introduced into a sublinear transliteration of the supralinear signs. The suffix ־הּ (§ 4) is, however, to be excepted from this treatment, in accordance with the analogy of OTA.

6. The following vowel signs are used in the supralinear system of the simplest type:

Qameṣ . .	˂	Ḥolem . . .	˙
Pathaḥ and seghol	˗	Shureq . . .	ˈ
Ṣere . . .	¨	Vocal shewa . .	ˊ
Ḥireq . .	˙	(including ḥaṭephs)	

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels and short vowels. Qameṣ at first had only the sound of *ā* in 'psalm' (approximately), not that of *ā* in 'ball', and ḥolem represented both Palestinian *ŏ* and Palestinian ḥolem. The later Yemenite MSS., however, use qameṣ for *ŏ*, so that, at different

periods, both כַּל and כַּל were pronounced as Hebrew כָּל. No distinction is made in the representation of pathaḥ and seghol, although, presumably, both sounds were used in actual speech. In transliterating the supralinear pathaḥ into sublinear writing, the analogy of OTA and of Hebrew will determine our choice between sublinear pathaḥ and sublinear seghol.

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathaḥ is used for ḥaṭeph pathaḥ, following א and ע and sometimes following ה and ח (e.g. אַמַר for אֲמַר, אַעַבִיד for אֲעַבִיד). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32 עֲבַרְתְּ, 5. 5 שָׁעָתָה).

8. Some supralinear MSS. have forms like אֵינָשׁ, אֵילָהָא, אֵירַחִים (= Hebrew אֱנוֹשׁ, אֱלֹהִים, אֲרַחִים), instead of forms commencing with אֱ or אֲ. It is possible that this orthography represents an alternative pronunciation of the words in question, but more likely that yodh, with ṣere, simply represented ֵי, just as pathaḥ stood for ַ. Similarly נִיצַלִי (*Chrest.* 29. 21) was neither a phonetic variant nor a grammatical equivalent of נְצַלִּי (1 plur. impf. Pael), but was, originally, precisely the same word, differently spelled. This use of yodh (with ṣere) to denote vocal shewa occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA, and it throws fresh light on the Hebrew forms referred to in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 23 h (אֵזוֹר = אֱזוֹר).

9. Some supralinear MSS. write יְ instead of יֱ, especially at the beginning of words, but also in other cases (e.g. in דְיֵרִי = דֱיֵרִי, Deut. 9. 28—Kahle, p. 14). This alternative orthography may also be understood to imply an alternative pronunciation—*yĕ* or *ĕ* (cf. Syriac)—but it should rather be regarded as an alternative way of representing the sound that is usually written as vocal shewa.

10. Ḥaṭeph qameṣ is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain words, such as קָדָם.

11. With the exceptions already noted, the ḥaṭephs of the sub-

linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the ḥaṭephs were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms וַ (and) and דַּ (who, which), which are used before certain consonants followed by vocal shewa, may be taken as proof that these following consonants were pronounced with ḥaṭeph pathaḥ. Ḥaṭephs may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) וְ is the form of the conjunction 'and' before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3. 21, 4. 29, 5. 20, 6. 5, 6. 17), even when that following consonant is בּ, מ, or פ (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before בּ, מ, and פ not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is וְ, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ וּ is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius's edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner's *Onkelos*).

13. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction וְ or וּ (Gen. 1. 10, 1. 17, Judg. 1. 17, 1. 22, Dan. 3. 21, 5. 11, 6. 17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew לִקְטֹל and וְהָיוּ, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with ה and ח in the same way so that, for example, וְחָזָא may perhaps be an alternative for וַחֲזָא (cf. Heb. לַחְפֹּר).

In the Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack), however, vocal shewa following an initial consonant is frequently unrepresented in writing, especially in association with particular forms or words, such as the particles בּ, כּ, ל, and ו. This implies that the absence of the sign of a hurried vowel (vocal shewa) is not a certain proof of its absence in speech, and makes

any conclusion regarding the case of the preceding paragraph uncertain.

14. In OTA the diphthong *ai* causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in בַּיְתָה, חֲוֵיתָ, חַיְתִי). Compare also, perhaps, קִדְמָיְתָא (§ 11, note 12) and מְנוּחָיְכִי (Ps. 116. 7, in the Hebrew Psalter). These analogies may be allowed to determine the sublinear vocalization of OJ and PTM in such words as חַיְדִין, (§ 6), עַבְרָיְתָא (§ 11, note 7), אַיְתִי (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יְכִי- and יְהָא- (§ 13).

§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

PTM		OJ ע		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
אֲנַן	אֲנָא	אֲנַחְנָא (נַחְנָא)	אֲנָא	1 com.
אַתּוּן	אַתְּ (אַנְתְּ)	אַתּוּן	אַתְּ	2 masc.
—	אַתְּ (אַנְתְּ)	אַתֵּין	אַתְּ	fem.
אינון, הינון	הוּא	אִנּוּן	הוּא	3 masc.
אינין, הינין	הִיא	אִנֵּין	הִיא	fem.

Accent. 1*. In OJ and OTA the pronouns of the 1 person plural are accented on the penultimate syllable. This is one of the few exceptions to the general rule in these dialects that the last syllable of a word is accented.

Forms. 2. The shortened forms נָא, נַן, and תּוּן sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. נָשׁ for אֱנָשׁ and נַחְנָא for אֲנַחְנָא). They, and תְּ = אַתְּ, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3*. אינון, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to אִנּוּן, &c. (§ 2. 1).

OTA. 4. For the forms of OTA see paradigm, p. 92. The last letter of אֲנַחְנָא is א three times and once ה. אנתה is

a K^{e}thibh form, always changed to אַנְתְּ by Q^{e}re, but pointed אַנְתָּה by the supralinear MSS. in Strack. אִנּוּן and הִמּוֹ occur, as nominatives, each once only.

Idioms. 5. The expressions הָהוּא גַּבְרָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and הָהִיא אִתְּתָא are used by PTM in modesty for אֲנָא (cf. Hebrew עַבְדְּךָ) and in curses or protestations for אַתְּ. In polite address, for אַתְּ, OJ uses רִבּוֹנִי and רִבּוֹנַי and PTM מָרִי, מָרָן, רַבִּי and רַבָּנָן (cf. Hebrew אֲדֹנִי).

6. For 'he himself', &c., see § 4, note 6.

§ 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

PTM	OJ	OJ, PTM	
Plur.	Plur.	Sing.	
ן־	נָא־[1]	־ִי	1 com.
כוֹן־	כוֹן־	־ךָ	2 masc.
כֵין־	כֵין־	־ךְ	fem.
הוֹן־, וֹן־	הוֹן־	־יהּ	3 masc.
הֵין־	הֵין־	־הּ	fem.

1*. These suffixes are equivalent to English possessive adjectives and to the genitives of the personal pronouns in other languages. For the possessive pronouns see § 7, note 4.

Forms. 2. The suffixes of the table are those joined to the singular stems of nouns ending with a consonant. In slightly different forms they are attached to verbs to express the accusatives of the personal pronouns (§ 36). ־יְכִי (2 s. f.) and ־הָא (3 s. f.), used in the marriage contract printed in Dalman's *Dialektproben*, p. 4 (ll. 4, 5, 6, 8), are older, uncontracted, forms of ־ִיךְ and ־הּ respectively. See also § 12, note 2, and § 13. For the variations of OTA, see p. 93.

[1] See § 3, note 1.—־ָ.

3. Merx (*Chrest. Targum.*) prints קְבְלָא in Gen. 2. 20 for קֳבֵלֵיהּ and אֶתְחוֹתָא for תְּחוֹתֵהּ in Gen. 2. 21.

Accus. Cases. **4*.** The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by יָתִי, &c., (3) by לִי, &c. OJ nearly always follows the Hebrew text in its choice between a verbal suffix and an independent accusative form. In the latter case it regularly employs יתי, &c., seldom לי, &c. For לֵיהּ and לְהוֹן after particc. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In PTM לי, &c., are used as accusatives after participles (18. 12, 19. 5, 20. 11, 14, &c.) and sometimes after finite forms of the verb (16. ii. 9, 26. 3, 28. 15). A pronominal object after a verb is usually expressed by a suffix. יתי, &c., occur after participles (16. ii. 3, 23. 2), perfects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impff. (22. ii. 5).

In OTA the pronominal object of a verb is generally expressed by means of a suffix. But only the independent forms הִמּוֹ (in Ezra), הִמּוֹן (in Daniel) and אִנִּין (Dan. 6. 25) are used for 'them'. יָת with a suffix occurs once (Dan. 3. 12, יְתֵהוֹן), לי, &c., only with participles (Dan. 2. 23, 4. 22, 29, 6. 17, Ezra 5. 2).

Ethic Dative. **5.** לי, &c., are also used as 'ethic datives', especially after verbs of motion. Examples: נְפַק לֵיהּ (26. 5), מְרַפְּקָא לַהּ (24. ii. 5).

Reflex. Pron. **6*.** In PTM the reflexive pronouns are generally expressed by גַּרְמִי, &c., sometimes by נַפְשִׁי, &c. (Dalman, p. 115, § 13). In OJ the pronominal suffixes are used, in agreement with the Hebrew text, נפשי, &c., being occasional alternatives. In PTM emphatic 'he himself' is expressed by כֹּל גַּרְמֵיהּ, 'this itself' by כֹּל גַּרְמָא דָּא (דָּא = this, § 5). גַּרְמִי means, literally, 'my bone' (for its inflexion see § 12, note 4).

OTA. **7.** In MT נָא (Baer, Ginsburg) is usual for נָא, but cf. pausal שֵׁיזָבוּתָנָא (Dan. 3. 17). כֹּם and הֹם occur only in Ezra, as alternatives to כוֹן and הוֹן. See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 113.

§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

	PTM	PTM	OJ	OJ
	Adjectives.	Pronouns.	Adjectives.	Pronouns.
this	דֵּין, דָּנָא, דֵּהֵין, דָּהָן, דָּן	דִּין, דָּנָא	דֵּדִין	דִּין (דְּנָן)
	דָּדָא	דָּא	דָּדָא	דָּא
these	דָּלֵּין	אִלֵּין, אילין	דָּאִלֵּין	אִלֵּין
	Adjectives and Pronouns.			
that	דָּהוּא	דָּדָךְ, דָּךְ	דָּהוּא (דֵּיכִי)	דֵּיכִי
	דָּהָיא, דָּאי, דָּיי	דָּךְ	דָּהָיא	דָּךְ
those	היינון, אינון	—	דָּאִנּוּן	אִלֵּיךְ

Forms. 1*. דָּהוּא and דָּהָיא are the forms of the Babylonian MSS. published by Kahle. דַּהוּא and דַּהָיא in the supralinear Yemenite MSS. are Hebraisms (Dalman). דָּלֵּין (16. ii. 7) is pointed דָּלֵּין in Dalman's paradigm (p. 397).

2*. אילין, היינון, and אינון are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. דַּיֵּדִין, דַּיָּדָא, and דַּיָּלֵּין occur as alternatives to דָּדִין, &c. (e.g. 15. 6) and are cited by Dalman (p. 111), but are held by him to be incorrect forms (p. 120).

4. PTM has a number of forms such as אָהֵין and אָהָן (28. 24) in which א alternates with ה. It also frequently uses contracted forms (דָּלֵּין, דָּאי, &c.). דִּין and דָּדִין coalesce with a following הוּא into דֵּינוּ and הֵינוּ. ל, כ, ו join with דָּאי into לָיי, כָּיי, וָיי (Dalman, p. 112).

OTA. 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). אִנּוּן for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and אֵלֶּה for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. דְּכֵן 'that' is both masculine (once) and feminine (twice). In OTA the same forms are used, without distinction, as adjectives and pronouns. See also notes 10 and 14.

Special usages. **6.** דְּנָן occurs in PTM as an enclitic particle following interrogative pronouns (Dalman, *Grammar*, pp. 111 and 224). In OJ it is similarly used to translate זֶה after לָמָּה (Gen. 25. 22) and also for זֶה associated with a numeral (Gen. 27. 36, Judg. 16. 15). כְּדֵנָן is sometimes used by OJ as a translation of Hebrew כֹּה (Gen. 45. 9, Exod. 3. 14 f., 5. 10, 7. 26, Josh. 24. 2, Judg. 11. 15, 2 Kings 19. 20).

7*. דֵּיכִי is usually equivalent to הַלָּזֶה (Judg. 6. 20, &c.) and seldom occurs otherwise (Gen. 27. 33). The pronoun 'that' in OJ is also expressed by הוּא (Gen. 2. 19, 41. 28, 42. 14, Exod. 16. 23, Amos 7. 6), which might, therefore, properly be included in the table.

Syntax. **8*.** OJ generally distinguishes between adjective and pronoun forms. Exceptions are: (*a*) דֵּיכִי, (*b*) דֵּין instead of הָדֵין, after a noun with a pronominal suffix attached, under the influence of the Hebrew text (Exod. 10. 1, Josh. 2. 20, Judg. 6. 14), (*c*) the phrase יוֹמָא דֵּין = הַיּוֹם 'to-day' (cf. יוֹמָא הָדֵין 'this day'), (*d*) כְּהָדָא (Judg. 13. 23, 15. 7).

9. In PTM הָהוּא generally serves as the pronoun 'that' (16. ii. 11 and 13, 18. ii. 3) and other singular adjective forms are also freely used as pronouns (15. 6, 16. ii. 12, 28. 24).

On the other hand, pronoun forms are used as adjectives (18. ii. 10 and 11—דֵּין, 28. 13—אִנּוּן). אִלֵּין, in particular, occurs more often than הָלֵּין as an adjective (16. ii. 10, 17. ii. 8, 20. 21, 24. ii. 1).

10*. In PTM a demonstrative nearly always stands before its associated noun (two exceptions in *Chrest.* 20. 12 and 21. 15 are both from the same narrative). In OJ the influence of the Hebrew text has established the rule that demonstratives follow the nouns they qualify. Exceptions agree with the order of the Hebrew text (Gen. 2. 23, Judg. 16. 15, &c.) In OTA a demonstrative adjective generally follows, but may precede, an associated noun (Dan. 2. 44).

11. Nouns qualified by a demons. adjective nearly always assume the emphatic form (see § 8, note 3).

Idioms. **12.** הָדֵין is used with proper names in the sense of 'the well-known' or 'the previously-mentioned' (15. ii. 2, 17. ii. 1; similarly 22. ii. 9). הָהוּא is sometimes equivalent to פְּלָנִי 'a certain', e.g. in the phrases הָהוּא גַּבְרָא, הָהוּא יוֹמָא. דֵּין . . . דֵּין (and חַד . . . חַד) express 'this . . . that' or 'one . . . another'.

13. יָת with suffixes of the third person is sometimes used as a demons. adjective or pronoun, like אֹתוֹ, &c., in the Mishnah (Dalman, § 17. 8).

14. In OTA before a noun governed by a preposition an anticipative pronominal suffix is used in an emphasizing demonstrative sense (בֵּהּ וְמָנָא 'at that very time'). The noun is then in the emphatic form (§ 8). So in PTM אֲמַר לֵיהּ לְרַבָּן יוֹחָנָן 'he said to this same R. Jochanan' (20. ii. 10).

§ 6. INTERROGATIVES

	PTM	OJ	
who?	מַן, מַאן	מַן	
what?	מָה	מָא	
which?	הֵידֵין	אֵידֵין	sing. masc.
„	הֵידָא, אֵידָא	אֵידָא	fem.
„	הֵילֵין, אֵילֵין	(אֵילֵין)	plural com.

Forms. **1*.** For the spelling מַאן see § 2. 1. אֵילֵין happens not to occur in OJ. הֵידֵין, &c., are the unvocalized spellings of הָדֵין, &c. (§ 2. 1 and 14).

2. In PTM מַן הוּא contracts into מַנּוּ and מָא הִיא into מָי. In OJ מָדֵין = מָא דֵין (note 4).

Usages. **3*.** The meanings of מָא are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! לְמָא (לְמָה) expresses 'why?' and

כְּמָא (כְּמָה) 'how many?' Questions introduced by לְמָא so often expect a negative answer that this interrogative acquires the sense of a negative (§ 7, note 7).

4. In OJ מָא דֵּין or מָדֵּין renders Hebrew מַה־זֶּה (Gen. 27. 20, Judg. 18. 24), but לְמָא דְנָן is used for לָמָּה־זֶּה (§ 5, note 6).

Syntax. **5.** אידין, &c., are both pronouns and adjectives. Their associated nouns may stand in the emphatic form (*Chrest.* 23. 3 and 4, Isai. 66. 1), but not necessarily.

Interrog. Adverbs. **6.** אָן (OJ) and הָן (PTM) = 'where?', לְאָן = 'whither?' and מִן אָן = 'whence?' מְנָן (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for מִן אָן.

OTA. **7.** Only מַן and מָה occur in OTA. Most editors, including Baer and Ginsburg, point the former מָן. In Dan. 3. 33 כְּמָה (with an adjective) = how!

§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

Forms. **1*.** In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is דְּ (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds (דִּילִי, &c., note 4) the form is דִּי.

Idioms. **2*.** דְּ without an antecedent means 'that which', 'he who', 'those who', &c. הֲדֵין דְּ, הַהוּא דְּ, מַן דְּ, and מָא דְּ are also used to express these combinations.

3*. דְּ before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. דְּבֵיתִי = 'the people of my house'. In reports of the opinions of the Rabbis, before the name of a Rabbi, it stands for 'the opinion of'.

Compounds. **4*.** דִּילִי, דִּילָךְ, &c., 'that which is to me', 'that which is to thee', &c., are the equivalents of the possessive pronouns mine, thine, &c., in OJ (cf. Dan. 2. 20). In PTM דִּידִי, &c., are more usual. דִּידִי may be a phonetic variant of דִּילִי (Barth) or = דְּ + יְדִי 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).

5. לְ+דְ+מָא, with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 2, מִדְלֵיהּ).

6. In PTM דּוּ is a contraction for דְּהוּא and דִּי occurs as a contraction for דְּהָיא (Dalman, p. 98).

Conjunctional uses. 7*. דְ is much used as a conjunction, —of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (= Hebrew כִּי 'that'). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions (מִן דְ = after, עַד דְ = until or whilst). כַּד 'when' and דִּלְמָא 'lest' or 'perhaps' (Ezra 7. 23 דִּי לְמָה) are compounds with כְּ and לְמָא (§ 6, note 3) respectively. בְּדִיל דְ is used for 'because' and 'in order that'.

Relative Adverbs. 8*. The relative adverbs—where, whither, and whence—are expressed in PTM by דְ, הָן דְ, לְהָן דְ, and מִן הָן דְ (cf. § 6, note 6) and in OJ generally by דְ . . הַמָּן, דְ . . לְתַמָּן, and דְ . . מִתַּמָּן (cf. OTA דִּי . . תַמָּה, Ezra 6. 1).

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

Feminine.	Masculine.	
טָבָא	טָב	singular absolute.
טָבַת	טָב	construct.
טָבְתָא	טָבָא	emphatic.
טָבָן	טָבִין	plural absolute.
טָבָת	טָבֵי	construct.
טָבָתָא	טָבַיָּא	emphatic.

Emphatic state. 1*. The emphatic ending *ā* has a demonstrative force equivalent to the Hebrew definite article. The corresponding English expression may, however, be indefinite, e. g. when the noun is abstract (16. ii. 4, 21. 15, 24. ii. 6), or a generic word (Dan. 5. 1). Sometimes the emphatic ending has practically the force of a possessive pronoun (20. 5, where שְׁנָאַיָּה

= 'our enemies', 24. ii. 12, where 'the stick' means 'his stick' or 'a stick').

2. In PTM and OJ the emphatic state tends to lose its distinctive definite meaning, as in Syriac, but to a much lesser extent (14. ii. 1, 25. ii. 10, 18. ii. 2, 20. 12, 24. ii. 1, 27. 6, 25. ii. 3 and 9; Gen. 2. 10, Exod. 1. 8, 12. 20, Josh. 2. 2, Judg. 9. 36). In PTM emphatic forms (18. 6, 18. ii. 6, 19. ii. 3, 21. ii. 7, 27. 2) as well as absolute forms (16. ii. 6, 17. ii. 1, 29. 1, 25. ii. 3) are associated with the indefinite word חַד, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with חַד (Gen. 1. 9, 2. 24, 27. 38, 45, 33. 13, 34. 16, 40. 5, Deut. 24. 5, Josh. 3. 12, 13, 17. 17, Judg. 6. 16, 9. 37) than the absolute is (Gen. 1. 5, 11. 1, Deut. 28. 7, Josh. 9. 2). The MS. evidence sometimes varies and the printed texts even have both constructions in the same verse (Gen. 11. 6, Josh. 17. 14). In OJ a singular indefinite object is generally expressed by the emphatic state (Gen. 2. 8, 4. 1, 4. 17, 20. 9, 21. 8, 28. 2, 29. 2, 33. 17, Judg. 6. 26), rarely by the absolute (Judg. 6. 17). Emphatic forms are said to be preferred in pause (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 96, Lev. 2. 13, Deut. 26. 7).

OTA seems always to use the emphatic form in its distinctive sense.

3*. There are a few exceptions to the rule that a noun qualified by a demons. adjective stands in the emphatic form (16. ii. 2). The absolute state is employed when the associated noun is accompanied by a numeral and a demons. adjective (28. 13). In וְזִמְנָא הָדָא (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. זִמְנָא הָהִיא, Deut. 10. 10.

4*. An attributive adjective regularly assumes an emphatic form when the noun it qualifies stands in the emphatic state (Gen. 1. 16, 10. 21, 27. 15, 29. 2, Deut. 3. 24, 11. 2; *Chrest.* 23. ii. 4; Dan. 3. 26, 6. 27). Cf. שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא (1 Sam. 12. 22), but אֲרִיסִי טָב (24. ii. 13).

Absolute state. **5*.** Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. ii. 3, בֵּית עָלַם 'the cemetery'). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16. 6 ff., 23. 4, דִּיוֵטֵם, דִּילִי). Predicative adjectives are generally put in the absolute state (Dan. 2. 11), even when, in OJ, they translate Hebrew words with a definite article attached (Gen. 2. 11, 42. 6). A predicative adjective in the emphatic state may be considered to be a superlative (15. 8).

Construct and Genitive. **6*.** In PTM construct forms, followed by genitives, have only a limited use (17. 13, עַמּוּדֵי בֵיתָהּ). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (לְעֵיל, בְּגוֹ, לְסוֹף, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. בַּר נָשׁ (28. 11), בֵּית עָלַם (25. ii. 3), מְטַמְעֵי שְׁמְשָׁא 'sunset' (22. ii. 5), פְּרוּם עַרְסִי 'my bed-cover' (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (*a*) עוֹפָא דִּשְׁמַיָּא, בֵּיתָא דַּחֲבִירֵיהּ 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (*b*) שְׁמֵיהּ דֶּאֱלָהָא, בֵּיתַהּ דְּאִמַּהּ 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (*c*) רְמוֹנִין דְּדַהַב 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases דְּ means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like תְּלַת מְלִין דְּחָכְמָתָא (17. 15) and מָרֵי דְּבִיתָא (*Chrest.* 17. 7, Judg. 19. 22) occur less often.

7*. In OJ the use of a construct, followed by a genitive, is general, although the constructions of note 6 also occur. Examples: (*a*) Gen. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (*b*) Gen. 30. 20; (*c*) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—נַחְלִין דְּמַיִן.

8. In OTA the idiom of a construct followed by a genitive prevails—except in one group of cases, where the constructions of note 6 (*a*) and (*c*) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in com-

bination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples: בֵּית גִּנְזַיָּא דִּי מַלְכָּא (Ezra 5.17), אֶשְׁיָא דִּי־בֵית אֱלָהָא (Ezra 5. 16), אֶצְבְּעָן דִּי יַד־אֱנָשׁ 'fingers of a human hand' (Dan. 5. 5). Cf. Ezra 4. 15, 6. 5, 7. 12, 7. 17, Dan. 2. 14, 2. 49, 4. 26, 5. 3. There are comparatively few cases of the use of these constructions as an alternative to a simple construct and genitive (Ezra 5. 2, 13, 14, 7. 26, Dan. 2. 15, 19, 38, 41, 4. 12 (= 20), 5. 7 (= 16 and 29), 5. 23, 24, 7. 4, 6, 7 (= 19), 7. 9, 10, 28). A considerable proportion of them seem to imply at least a slight emphasis (e.g. Ezra 5. 14, 7. 26, Dan. 2. 38, 5. 7 (= 16 and 29), 5. 23, 7. 4, 7 (= 19), 7. 9, 10). 'The den of lions' is both גֻּב אַרְיָוָתָא (6. 8, 13, 25) and גֻּבָּא דִּי אַרְיָוָתָא (6. 17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by דִּי are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2. 44, 3. 28 f., 4. 23, 6. 25, 27, Ezra 5. 11). Renderings such as 'the name of him who is (really) God' and 'the appearance of that fourth' are sometimes appropriate (Dan. 2. 20, 3. 25, 3. 26).

Accusative case. **9***. In PTM the object noun has generally no distinctive mark. לְ occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15. 11, 16. ii. 11, 21. 6, 7, 23. 8, 27. 6) and יָת does so rarely (15. ii. 8). In OJ יָת is the regular equivalent of Hebrew אֵת and לְ seldom occurs (in Gen. 3. 17 לְמֵימַר = Hebrew לְקוֹל; for Gen. 39. 15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending *ā* survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g. תַּחְתָּא 'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA ל is not infrequently associated with a definite accusative. Possibly it has a slight demonstrative or emphasizing effect.[1]

[1] It is prefixed to expressions for the true God (Dan. 2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23) and the false gods (3. 18, 5. 4, 23; cf. 2. 34), to words and phrases denoting the rulers (3. 2, 6. 2) and wise men of Babylon (2. 12, 14, 24; 5. 7), to the

Inflexional endings. **11***. The feminine singular ending יא is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence רִיקְנָיְא (Gen. 1. 2) and פְּלָנְיָא. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and *ᵉwān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (*a*) חֵילָוָן, לֵילְוָן, בֵּירָוָן, דֵּירָוָן, (*b*) אָתְוָן, אַחָוָן—from אָת, sign, and אֲחָת, sister. Cf. מְאָוָן = מָאָוָן and סְאָוָן = סָאָוָן. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12*. The plurals of אַב, אֵם, and שׁוֹם are אֲבָהָן, אִמָּהָן, and שְׁמָהָן, respectively.

13*. The termination ־ִי is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: יַמֵּי (Gen. 1. 10), חַיֵּי (Gen. 2. 7), תּוֹרֵי (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like בּוּתָאֵי (*Chrest.* 24. ii. 1), מְצָרָאֵי (Exod. 12. 30), חִתָּאֵי (Josh. 1. 4), and בַּשְׁדָּאֵי (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεθσημανῆ = גַּת שְׁמָנֵי = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like בַּפְּרָנִין (Num. 32. 4), from כְּפַר, village, and בְּנָתִין (16. ii. 14) are examples of double plurals. For *ān* as a plural ending see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 450 f.

Duals. **15***. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are תְּרֵין, תַּרְתֵּין ('two'), and מָאתַן (200). But the ending ־ִין in words such as עֵינִין may also be a dual ending (OTA עֵינִין). In OTA (besides תְּרֵין, תַּרְתֵּין, and מָאתַין) יְדִין, רַגְלִין, קַרְנִין, and שְׁנִין occur.

§ 9*. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS (declensions)

The following classification is made with a view to a statement of the rules for nominal inflexion, as given in the next paragraph. Six classes, or declensions, are distinguished.

names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (2. 49, 3. 13, 22, 30; cf. 3. 27 and 3. 28) and to the name Daniel, when standing as an object by itself (2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of לְ introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 2, 22 and 23. In Ezra very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In Ezra 6. 7 לעבידת may be regarded as a textual error.

A nouns. Nouns originally disyllabic and having two short vowels are very slightly distinguished in Aramaic from nouns originally monosyllabic and ending in two consonants. The two groups are here joined in the A class of nouns, which is further subdivided into three sub-classes according as the characteristic vowel (used in the inflected forms) is *ă*, *ĭ*, or *ŭ* (OTA *ŏ*). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

ŭ class.	*ĭ class.*	*ă class.*	
	כְּתַף	דְּהַב	originally disyllabic.
	נְדַר	נְפַשׁ	originally monosyllabic.
קֻשׁוֹט	רְחֵישׁ	לְחֵים	
בּוֹסֶם	עִיגֶל	עֶבֶד	
	תֶּבֶן		

In the *ă* class absolute forms like רְגַז (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), בְּסֶם (Exod. 30. 23), and כְּתַל (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give כֹּתֶל for the כְּתַל of MT.

Words of the *ă* class like לְחֵים are לְחֵים, בְּעֵיל, טְעֵים, חֲקֵיל, מְלֵיךְ, סְעֵיד, and רְעֵים (OTA בְּעַל, טְעֵם, צְלֵם, and לְחֵם, with עֲבַד in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

Some words have more than one absolute form (חֲקַל, חֶקֶל, &c.). In OTA the uses of טַעַם and טְעֵם, צָלֵם and צְלֵם are perhaps differentiated by MT (Strack, § 8 c.).

יִרַךְ (Num. 5. 22) and יִתַם (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from יְרַךְ and יְתַם (§ 2, notes 8 and 9). The former belongs to the *ĭ* sub-class and the latter to the *ă* sub-class.

B nouns. Disyllabic nouns having *ă* in the final syllable and an unchangeable long vowel, or a shut syllable, in the penult, together with all participles (whose final vowel is ṣere or pathaḥ) follow

a distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples: אַמַּר, אַרְבַּע, עָלַם, סָהֵיד. A small number of monosyllables including יַד, דַּם, זַן, חַד, בַּר (son), and שׁוֹם (OTA שֵׁם) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

C nouns. Monosyllables from stems ע"ע have absolute forms like עַם, אֵם, and כֹּל, in which the vowels *ē* and *ō* are frequently represented by ◌ֵי and ◌ִי respectively (e. g. שִׁית, פּוֹם). Dalman gives גִּיר (arrow) and גּוֹב (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from ע"ע stems follow the inflexion of this class (e. g. פּוֹם, עִז). In OTA the MSS. of MT read פֻּם (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have פֹּם, in accordance with the analogy of דֹּב, גּוֹב, &c.

D nouns. Words which remain unchanged when terminations are added to the stem are principally disyllables with a long vowel in the final syllable (e. g. אֲנָשׁ, שְׁלָם, גְּבַר, עֲוִיר), and monosyllables like תּוֹר, יוֹם, טוּר, and דִּין. The unchangeable *ā* in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew *ō* (שָׁלוֹם, &c.).

E nouns. It is convenient to make nouns from stems final yodh or final waw a separate group. Words like טְלֵי are chiefly substantives and those like סָנֵי (OTA שָׂנֵא, אָתֵה) are participle forms (see § 30). Probably the orthography חֵיזוּ (Gen. 12. 11) is equivalent to חֵזוּ (§ 2. 8).

F nouns. In this class are included all nouns with the terminations *ăi* (= Hebrew *ī*) or *ē* added to a triliteral stem. Examples: קַדְמַי (or קַדְמַאי, § 2. 1), רְבִיעַי, תְּמָנֵי. The long vowel of OTA (קַדְמָי, רְבִיעָי, בַּשְׁדִּי) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1. 13, 19).

§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

	Plural.			Singular.		
Emph.	*Constr.*	*Absol.*	*Emph.*	*Constr.*	*Absol.*	
מַלְכָּיָא	מַלְכֵי	מַלְכִין	מַלְכָּא	מֶלֶךְ	מֶלֶךְ	A
בַּעֲלָיָא	בַּעֲלֵי	בַּעֲלִין	בַּעֲלָא	בְּעֵיל	בְּעֵיל	
נְדָרָיָא	נִדְרֵי	נִדְרִין	נִדְרָא	נִדַּר	נִדַּר	
נַהֲרָיָא	נַהֲרֵי	נַהֲרִין	נַהֲרָא	נְהַר	נְהַר	
לְבָבָיָא	לִבְבֵי	לִבְבִין	לִבְבָא	לִבַּב	לִבַּב	
עָלְמָיָא	עָלְמֵי	עָלְמִין	עָלְמָא	עָלַם	עָלַם	B
יְדָיָא	יְדֵי	יְדִין	יְדָא	יַד	יַד	
עִזָּיָא	עִזֵּי	עִזִּין	עִזָּא	עֵז	עֵז	C
גְּבָרָיָא	גִּבְרֵי	גִּבְרִין	גְּבָרָא	גְּבַר	גְּבַר	D
טְלָיָא	טְלֵי טַלְיֵי	טְלַיִן [1] טְלִין	טַלְיָא	טְלֵי	טְלֵי	E
כָּנָיָא	כָּנֵי	כְּנַיִן [1] כָּנִן	כְּנָיָא	כָּנֵי	כָּנֵי	
חַזָּיָא	חַזֵּי	חַזִּין	חַזָּא	חֵיזוּ	חֵיזוּ	
עִבְרָיֵא		עִבְרָיִין	עִבְרָיָא		עִבְרִי	F
עִבְרָאֵי		עִבְרָאִין	עִבְרָאָא			
כּוּרְסָוָתָא	כּוּרְסָוָת	כּוּרְסָוָן	כּוּרְסָיָא	כּוּרְסֵי	כּוּרְסֵי	

[1] The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the *ă* and the ending may be pronounced as *ain*.

A nouns. **1***. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are *ă*, *ĭ*, and *ŭ* (OTA *ŏ*). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal (*a*) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (מַלְכִּין), (*ŏ*) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (דְּנֵבִּין, לְבָבָא). All the examples of the table above are treated according to this rule, although the Yemenite MSS. with supralinear punctuation do not indicate vocal shewa, except after a medial guttural, and even then not consistently (e.g. נַהֲרָא, Gen. 2. 13, but נַהֲרָא, Josh. 1. 4).

2. Under the influence of medial *p*, *b*, and *m* (labials) *ŭ* is often substituted for *ă* and *ĭ* in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: גֻּפְנָא, גֻּבְרָא, רֻמְשָׁא, דֻּבְשָׁא. The absolute form גֻּפָּן, for גֻּפְּן, may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem *gufn*. In OTA the plural forms of גֻּבַּר are always גֻּבְרִין, &c.

3. The vowel *ĭ* is also frequently substituted for an original *ă*. Examples: דִּסְרָא, דִּבְרָא, שִׁמְשָׁא, מִטְרָא, דִּבְחָא; OTA בִּשְׁרָא, זִמְנָא, שִׁמְשָׁא, דִּבְחִין, נִשְׁרִין. The absolute form דִּיבַח (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like גֻּפָּן. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of רֶגֶל is *ĭ* in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle ; cf. *Chrest.* 15. 9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give *ă* (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

4. In the *ĭ* sub-class, nouns whose initial radical is a guttural generally retain ḥireq in the inflected forms. חִלְמָא from חֵלֶם (dream), in the MT of Daniel and in some OJ MSS., may be due to Hebrew influence (cf. עִגְלִי, &c.). Ḥireq and seghol also interchange in the OTA group גִּשְׁמֵה, גְּשְׁמֵה, גֶּשְׁמְהוֹן.

5. In the *ŭ* sub-class, when ḥolem occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent *ŏ* (§ 2. 1). Examples: אוֹרְחָא Gen. 38. 16, קוֹבְעִין Exod. 28. 40, עוֹרְבָא Lev.

11. 15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of *ŏ*-stems in OTA (Dan. 2. 37, 4. 12, 6. 20) and one of an *ŭ*-stem (בֶּחְלָא Ezra 5. 8). Similarly the feminine חֶכְמָא is written חָכְמָא in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4. 34 and 5. 23 the supralinear punctuation is אֹרְחָה, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and אָרְחָה or אֳרְחָה. In OJ inflected forms like טְעוּנֵי (Josh. 2. 6) for טֶעֱנֵי sometimes occur.

6*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בַּיִת and עַיִן, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בֵּית (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עֵין and inflected stems like עֵינִין, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute *ē* for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בָּתִּין is the plural of בַּיִת. חֵיל is used as an absolute form (Exod. 32. 12).

B nouns. **7*.** The final stem vowel of nouns of the B class becomes vocal shewa when terminations are added to the stem. For some apparent exceptions see § 21, note 6.

C nouns. **8*.** In nouns of the C class the final radical is doubled before inflexional endings and the stem vowel is normally *ă* or *ĭ* or *ŭ*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עַמָּא, אִמָּא, גֻּבָּא). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence בָּרָא from בַּר (country)). Some nouns put *ĭ* for *ă* in the inflected forms (פִּתָּא, פִּתָּא). In OTA אֶשָּׁא, from אֵשׁ, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ אֶשָּׁא (fem. absolute) is also used.

9*. In OJ, although the stem vowel of the word כֹּל with pronominal suffixes (§ 12, note 6) is always *ŭ*, the emphatic form is regularly כּוֹלָּא (Josh. 11. 19), pointed in Berliner's *Onkelos* sometimes with daghesh (Exod. 29. 24, Lev. 8. 27) and sometimes without (Gen. 6. 19, 20, 16. 12, Lev. 1. 9). In Lev. 8. 27 Berliner prints כּוּלָּא. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have כֹּלָּא (five

times), and the supralinear MSS. agree (Dan. 4. 25). Ḥolem in this and similar words denotes a short vowel (§ 2. 1). The reading חוֹמָא (= חֹמָא) in Gen. 8. 22 (Dalman, p. 145) is an alternative to חֲמָא (cf. Berliner).

10*. In the later Yemenite MSS. of OJ Hebrew כָּל־ is represented by כַּל and Hebrew כֹּל by כֹּל. In Gen. 1–2 (Merx), Josh. 1–2, and Judg. 1–2 (Praetorius) the only exceptions to this rule are in Gen. 1. 30 and Judg. 2. 15. In OTA, MT has both כָּל־ and כֹּל, generally the former. Strack's supralinear MSS. (except G, once) either insert no vowel or read כֹּל.

11. Plurals of the form עַמְמִין occur in OJ, PTM, and OTA (cf. § 35, note 4).

12. Erroneous dissimilation of the doubled consonant of the stem takes place in חַנְנִין (Exod. 32. 19), from חַג (cf. § 26, note 9). The form אַנְפִּין (Dan. 2. 46) is also a dissimilated form.

D nouns. 13*. In this class the absolute form and the inflected stem are identical. The inflected forms of the word שְׁלִים (Gen. 6. 9) seem, however, to be taken from a stem of the A class (שַׁלְמִין, &c.).

E nouns. 14*. When a termination is added to words of the E class the stem of words like טְלֵי is either like טְלֵי or an A stem, with yodh as the third radical, and the inflected stem of words like סָנֵי is either like סָנֵי or a B stem (see particulars in table above). In forms like סָנְיָא and מְשִׁתְיָא, from מְשִׁתֵי, the shewa following the middle radical is vocal (§ 30, note 3). In טַלְיָא it may be treated as silent, on the analogy of the originally monosyllabic A stems.

15*. טְלַיִן is contracted from טְלָיִן and סָנַן from סָנָיִן. Adjectives of the form מְלֵי have contracted plurals of the form מְלַן (Deut. 6. 11). The only case of such an adjective in OTA has an uncontracted plural (שְׁבְיִן, Dan. 3. 25).

16. פֵּירִין (Hebrew פְּרִי) is used in the plural only. For plurals in

āwān see note 21. Dalman (p. 192) regards the supralinear punctuation of absolute plurals like גְּדָיִין as incorrect.

17*. When E nouns employ an A stem (as in טַלְיָא) the vowel of the stem is usually *ă*, but sometimes *ĕ* or *ŭ* (OTA *ŏ*). Examples: רְחֵי from רַחְיָא, פְּתֵי from פַּתְיָא. The supralinear pathaḥ of חַזְוָא in OJ may be interpreted as seghol, in agreement with OTA חָזְוָא (§ 2. 6).

18. Forms like חֶזְוָא, חָזְוָא, with consonantal waw, are unusual. Most nouns ending in ה are feminine (רְבוּ, בָּעוּ) and are inflected according to the rules of § 11.

F nouns. **19***. In the inflected forms of *ai* stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from aiya to *ē* (ֵי or ֵא). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (כּוּרְסֵי, תְּמָנֵי) are treated like those of סָנֵי (E class).

EF nouns. **20.** A few words from stems with final yodh are treated like nouns of the F class in OJ (Dalman, p. 156 ϵ) and OTA (עֲנָיָן, Dan. 4. 24, from עֲנָי). See also § 12, note 8.

21*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in *āwān* or *ᵉwān*, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: אַרְנָוָן, כּוּרְסָוָן, רָעָוָן, אָסְוָן (cf. § 8, note 11 and § 30, note 2).

OTA. **22.** The general rules for the inflexion of nouns given in this section apply to OTA. As the E class is very slightly represented there it may be passed over by those who begin their Aramaic reading in OTA. For these the most important notes in this section are 1, 7, 8, 13, and 19, along with 3, 6, and 9 for some details.

§ 11.* INFLEXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

	Singular.			Plural.		
	Absol.	*Const.*	*Emphat.*	*Absol.*	*Const.*	*Emphat.*
A	מַלְכָּא	מַלְכַת	מַלְכְּתָא	מַלְכָן	מַלְכָת	מַלְכָתָא
	כְּנִשְׁתָּא	כְּנִשַׁת	כְּנִשְׁתְּתָא	כְּנִשָׁן	כְּנִשָׁת	כְּנִשָׁתָא
B	אִמְּרָא	אִמַּרַת	אִמַּרְתָּא	אִמְּרָן	אִמְּרָת	אִמְּרָתָא
C	מְלָא	מְלַת	מְלָתָא	מְלִין	מְלֵי	מְלַיָּא
D	מְגִירָא	מְגִירַת	מְגִירְתָא	מְגִירָן	מְגִירָת	מְגִירָתָא
	חֵיוָא	חֵיוַת	חֵיוְתָא	חֵיוָן	חֵיוָת	חֵיוָתָא
E	טַלְיָא	טַלְיַת	טַלְיְתָא OJ טַלְיָתָא PTM	טַלְיָן	טַלְיָת	טַלְיָתָא
	סָנְיָא	סָנְיַת	סָנְיְתָא	סָנְיָן	סָנְיָת	סָנְיָתָא
	גָּלוּ	גָּלוּת	גָּלוּתָא	גָּלְוָן	גָּלְוָת	גָּלְוָתָא
	צְלוֹ	צְלוֹת	צְלוֹתָא	צַלְוָן	צַלְוָת	צַלְוָתָא
	מְנָת	מְנַת	מְנָתָא	מְנָן	מְנָת	מְנָתָא
F	עַבְרָיָא	—	עִבְרְיָתָא	עִבְרָן	—	עִבְרָיָתָא
	עִבְרָאָא	—	עִבְרֵיתָא			
G	זַרְעִי	זַרְעִית	זַרְעִיתָא	זַרְעָן	זַרְעָת	זַרְעָתָא
	מַלְכוּ	מַלְכוּת	מַלְכוּתָא	מַלְכְוָן	מַלְכְוָת	מַלְכְוָתָא

Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending *ā* is attached are treated in accordance with the rules of § 10. There are, therefore, six classes of feminine nouns corresponding to the classes of § 9. In the E class nouns having final consonantal waw are numerous and several types of absolute singular are in use (see

Table). Abstract feminine nouns having an ending in *ī* or *ū* are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

A nouns. **2.** The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually תָא, joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples: מַלְכְּתָא, נִשְׁמְתָא, בִּרְכְּתָא. תָא is added to the stem קָטַל in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like צַדָּקָה). Examples (from Dalman): צְדַקְתָא, נְדַבְתָא, אַדַמְתָא, צְוַחְתָא, עֲגַלְתָא, חֲבַרְתָא, כְּנִשְׁתָא (absolute כְּנִשְׁא). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives עֲגַלְתָא (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from עֶגְלָא), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from עֶגְלָא). The emphatic sing. fem. of חֵרֵת (= חָדָשׁ) is חֲרַתָא.

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal shewa following the middle radical (כִּדְבָה, Dan. 2. 9), and this analogy may be followed in reading OJ and PTM (cf. § 10, note 1). In all feminine plurals of the A class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal (§ 10, note 1).

B nouns. **3.** In this class the emphatic ending is תָא and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 (יָלִידְתָא, אַמַרְתָא, יָתִיבְתָא—see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of בְּרָא 'daughter', is בְּרַתָא, and that of שְׁנָא 'year', is שַׁתָא.

C nouns. **4.** In the C class תָא is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms. מִלְיָא, like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form. שינא 'sleep', although not from an ע״ע stem, is inflected like words of this group (שְׁנָתָא, &c.)

D nouns. **5.** With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually תָא (דָּרְתָא, שְׁעָתָא, בִּיעָתָא, עֲבִידְתָא, שְׁבוּעָתָא, תַּקִּיפְתָא). תָא is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is *ē* or *ū* (שָׁפֵילְתָא, גְּנוּבְתָא, מְהוּלְתָא). יָלִידְתָא and יָתִיבְתָא belong rather to the B class.

Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (שְׁאֵילָא, שְׁאֵילְתָא ; כְּנִישְׁתָא, כְּנִישְׁתָא ; נְבִילָא, נְבִילְתָא ; דְּבִילָא, דְּבִילְתָא), although not exclusively (cf. נִבְלַת, Lev. 5. 2, and לִבְנִין, Exod. 5. 7). All have close parallels in Hebrew.

E nouns. **6.** There is considerable variety in the inflected forms of feminine nouns of this declension. In the טַלְיָא group yodh is always consonantal in OJ and the stem resembles that of the A declension. In PTM quiescence of the yodh takes place in the emphatic sing. (see Table). In the סָנֵי group, both in OJ and PTM, yodh quiesces in the construct and emphatic of the singular.

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: רַעֲוָא (Gen. 4. 5) and קִרְיָא or קִרְוָא 'city' (emphatic קַרְתָּא, plural קִרְוִין). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflexions see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are טִיבוּ, זָכוּ, רַבוּ, רָשׁוּ, קְצָת. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עוֹלָה seems to be עֲלָא (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֲלָת (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֲלָתָא (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֲלָוָן (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עָלָת &c. are erroneous. Cf. Syriac and OTA (note 11).

In all feminine plurals of the E class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal, according to the analogy of § 10, note 1.

F nouns. **7.** After the diphthong *āi* the emphatic termination is תָּא, with mutated ת, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before תָּא is *ē*. Supralinear plurals like עִבְרַיָתָא Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

עֲוָנָא (= Hebrew עָוֹן) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (עֲוָנָן, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms עֲנִי and פְּתִי (§ 10, note 20).

G nouns. **8.** The vowel terminations of the singular are replaced by consonantal yodh or waw in the plural (see Table). The mutation of the third radical in the plural is a peculiar feature.

Old Testament Aramaic

A, B, and C nouns. **9.** The inflexion of feminine nouns in OTA is the same as in OJ, except in the emphatic singular of nouns of the D class.

There is only one OTA example of the ending תָּא in the A class, viz. יַבֶּשְׁתָּא (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as יַבַּשְׁתָּא (Gen. 1. 9) or יַבֶּשְׁתָּא (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are אִגַּרְתָּא (Ezra 4. 11), רַבְּתָא (Dan. 4. 27), and מַלְּתָא (Dan. 2. 8).

D nouns. **10.** In MT all words having unchangeable disyllabic stems receive תָּא as their emphatic singular ending (עֲבִידְתָּא, שְׁאֵלְתָּא, גְּבוּרְתָּא, מְדֹרְתָּא, יְקִדְתָּא, &c.). The two words having unchangeable monosyllabic stems, חֵיוְתָא (Dan. 4. 11) and בִּירְתָא (Ezra 6. 2), both receive the emphatic ending תָּא (for the reading בִּירְתָא see Ginsburg and Strack). MT שַׁעֲתָא (Dan. 3. 6, &c.), although supported by some supralinear MSS., should be corrected into שְׁעָתָא and included in the D class.

E nouns. **11.** There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. קְרִיְתָא (Ezra 4. 12) and עֲרוֹת (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the טַלְיָא group, שְׁנָיִן (Dan. 7. 3) to the סָנֵי (גְּלֵה) group, and עֲלָוָן (Ezra 6. 9) to the מְנָת group. כְּנָוָת, from כְּנָת, occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. גְּלוּתָא (Dan. 2. 25), from גְּלוּ, is also a noun of this declension.

F nouns. **12.** Before the emphatic singular ending, instead of *āi*, as in קַדְמָיְתָא (Dan. 7. 4), רְבִיעָיְתָא (Dan. 7. 19), some MSS. read *ăi* (cf. note 7). Shewa after *āi* is silent (note 7) in spite of metheg (קַדְמָיְתָא). עָוְיָא (see note 7) occurs once in the plural with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 4. 24).

G nouns. **13.** מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the *ī* group and מַלְכְוָתָא (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the *ū* group.

[1] If reckoned a participle, this word comes under the rule of the B class.

§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with singular nouns)

1*. For the usual forms of the suffixes in OJ and PTM see § 4 and for those of OTA see paradigm, p. 93.

2*. אָב, אָח, and חָם with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

אֲחִי	אֲחִיךָ	אֲחִיכָ אֲחִיךְ	אֲחִיהִי	אֲחִיהָא
אֲחִינָא OJ אֲחִינַן PTM	אֲחִיכוֹן	אֲחִיכִין	אֲחִיהוֹן	אֲחִיהִין

The suffixes הִי, הָא, נָן, נָא, and יךָ are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. יִךָ is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and דְ (2 s. f.) by the school of Nehardea (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 62 f.) The former is given by Merx (Gen. 24. 23) and in Berliner's *Onkelos* (Gen. 20. 16, 38. 11), the latter in Praetorius (Judg. 14. 15, Josh. 2. 18) and Lagarde (2 Sam. 6. 21, 13. 17).

3. For אֲבִי OJ uses אֲבָא (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, *ἀββᾶ*). אִמָּא 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally *ă*, from an older *ai*, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 אַבִי (MT) may originally have meant אֲבִי (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. אֲבוּהִי is sometimes contracted into אֲבוּי (*Chrest.* 18. 12).

A nouns. 4*. The stems of masculine nouns with pronominal suffixes attached are generally formed according to the rules of § 10, with some slight modifications.

In the A class the distinction between מַלְכָּא and לִבָּא is paralleled by the distinction between מַלְכִּי and לִבִּי. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the קָטַל type. E.g. אַרְעָהוֹן (Josh. 10. 42), בְּסַרְכוֹן (Judg. 8. 7), but also בִּסְרְכוֹן (Judg. 9. 2).

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ בֵּיתֵיהּ, OTA בֵּיתֵהּ). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between בֵּיתִי and בַּיְתִי. For לַיִת with suffixes see § 15, notes 2 and 3.

B nouns. 5*. In the B class the stem vowel of the final syllable is retained before heavy suffixes and becomes vocal shewa before light suffixes. Examples: מֵימְרִי, מֵימַרְהוֹן, יְדִי, יַדְהוֹן (OTA יֵדֵהֹם).

C nouns. 6*. The supralinear orthography represented by כּוּלֵיהּ is normal, although the vowel *u* is short (§ 2. 1). In OTA כֹּל with suffixes has *ŏ* as its stem vowel (Dan. 2. 38, 7. 19), while all other words of this class have *ă*.

E nouns. 7*. In the E class words like טְלֵי use their emphatic stem before all suffixes. In the *ă* sub-class the later Yemenite MSS. sometimes make the vowel of the inflected stem *ŏ*, as in MT (Dan. 4. 9). Examples: טַלְיֵי, טַלְיֵהוֹן, חָלְיִי (Judg. 9. 11), עָפְיֵהּ (Dan. 4. 9). Participle forms like עָנֵי and nouns like מִשְׁתִּי and מִשְׁרֵי either employ their emphatic stem (מִשְׁתְּיָא, בִּרְיָא) or, more generally, are treated as plural nouns are (§ 13, note 7). For participles see further § 30, note 4.

F nouns. 8. Words from stems final yodh that belong to the F class (§ 10, note 20) like דְּוֵי (OJ) and פְּתֵי (OTA), have suffixed forms like דְּוָיֵי (Gen. 35. 18, Dalman) and פְּתָיֵהּ (Dan. 3. 1). Nouns like כּוּרְסֵי with suffixes are treated as plural nouns (§ 13, note 7).

Feminine stems. 9*. Feminine nouns to which pronominal suffixes are attached may be arranged in three divisions, according as the termination of the emphatic singular is תָּא, תָ֫א or תָ֣א.

(1) Nouns that use the ending תָּא join suffixes to the emphatic stem (צְדָקְתָּכוֹן, אַמַּרְתִּי).

(2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is תָ֫א, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מַלְכְּתָהוֹן, מַלְכַּתְהוֹן; מִלְּתִי, מִלַּתְהוֹן; עֲבִידְתִי, עֲבִידַתְהוֹן; טַלְיְתִי, טַלְיַתְהוֹן).

(3) Nouns of the E, F, and G classes, whose emphatic ending is תָא, add suffixes to the emphatic or construct stems, which are the same (גְּלֻוּתֵיהּ, מְנָתְהוֹן, מַלְכוּתִי). For examples of F nouns see § 29, note 9.

10. שְׁנָתֵהּ (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as derived from an absolute form שְׁנָא (cf. § 11, note 4).

Feminine suffixes. **11.** The supralinear MSS. of OJ generally write the suffixes of the 2 plur. masc. and of the 3 plur. masc. instead of the corresponding feminine forms (Dalman). The same substitution is often made in PTM.

§ 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with masc. plur. stems).

Plural Suffixes.		Singular Suffixes.		
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	
..ינַן	..נָא	..י, אי	..י	1 com.
..יכוֹן	..יכוֹן	..יךָ, ..ךָ	..ךָ	2 masc.
..יכִין	..יכִין	..יכִי, ..יךְ	..יְכִי, ..יךְ	fem.
			..כִי, ..ךְ	
..יהוֹן	..יהוֹן	..וֹהִי, ..וֹי	..וֹהִי	3 masc.
..יהִין	..יהִין	..יָהָא, ..יהּ, ..הּ	..הָא	fem.

Suffix forms. **1*.** אי, יךְ, and יכי are simply orthographical variants for י_, יךָ_, and יְכִי_. For יְכִי_ and יָהָא_ see § 2. 14. א_ is an alternative in OJ for י_ (see § 29, note 8).

2*. The 'connective vowel' of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending *ai*, which in a majority of cases has become *ē* or *ă* or *ā*. The connective *ō* of וֹהִי is explained either as a nominative plural ending = *au* (Barth) or as a dissimilation from *ai* (Dalman). The terminations כי, הי, and הא were originally used with singular as well as with plural stems (§ 4, note 2, § 12, note 2). The contracted forms of 3 sing. masc. and 3 sing. fem. are charac-

teristic of PTM. נָן is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix ן_ is used by PTM in רַבָּנָן 'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the K^{e}thibh implies the earlier pronunciations יְהּ_, יֵהּ_, and יֵנָא_, which the Q^{e}re alters into הָ_, הּ_, and נָא_ respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

4*. It may be observed that several of the *ai* suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns (הָ_, הּ_, נָא_). Unvocalized יה in PTM, when joined to a masc. plural stem means 'her', and to a singular stem 'his'.

Plural stems. **5*.** Most of the plural stems of § 10 are also used when pronominal suffixes are joined to plurals (e. g. מַלְכַּיָּא, גְּבָרֵי, יָדֵי). Only the טְלֵי group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular (טַלְיֵיהוֹן, טַלְיֵי). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem (מְשִׁרְיֵהוֹן, רַעְיֵהוֹן, סָנֵי). In Dan. 2. 32 this treatment is extended to the form חֲדוֹהִי, although presumably its uninflected singular is חֲדֵי, as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses תַּרְוֵיהוֹן (Gen. 2. 25), instead of תְּרֵיהוֹן, and PTM sometimes has the same form (cf. § 8, note 15).

Singular stems like plurals. **7*.** The direct combination of pronominal suffixes with the singular ending *ē* of certain nouns of the E class, like מְשִׁחֵי and מְשָׁרֵי, produces a set of *ai* suffixes, which are precisely the same as those attached to plural stems. This makes the singular and plural forms of such nouns frequently indistinguishable (מְשִׁרְיֵהוֹן, מָחוֹהִי). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like כּוּרְסֵי, are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

8. מָרֵי 'master', with suffixes employs a stem with consonantal yodh (מָרְיָהּ, *Chrest.*, p. 23, note 1), or a contracted stem with the suffixes of § 12 (מָרֵיהּ, Exod. 21. 29, מָרֵי, Dan. 4. 16, 21) or a contracted stem with the suffixes of this section (מָרוֹהִי, Exod. 21. 34).

In the Kᵉthibh form מראי (Dan. 4.16, 21) אי might represent *ai* (§ 2.1) but probably א stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

9*. Prepositions that originally ended in *ē*, for that reason take *ai* suffixes (עֲלַי, עֲלָךְ, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (קֳדָמַי, בָּתְרַי). In OTA עֲלַיְנָא or עֲלֵינָא (Ezra 4. 12, &c.), an old form of the suffix ־נָא, is preserved (cf. note 3).

Fem. plur. suffixes. **10.** The observations of § 12, note 11, apply also to the suffixes added to plural stems.

§ 14*. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with fem. plur. stems).

Borrowed *ai* Suffixes.		Normal Suffixes.		
PTM	OJ	OJ and PTM		
	אִמְּרָתַי	אִמְּרָתָנָא OJ אִמְּרָתַן PTM	אִמְּרָתִי	1 com.
אִמְּרָתֵיכוֹן	—	אִמְּרָתְכוֹן	אִמְּרָתָךְ	2 masc.
	אִמְּרָתָךְ	—	אִמְּרָתִיךְ	fem.
אִמְּרָתֵיהוֹן	אִמְּרָתוֹהִי	אִמְּרָתְהוֹן	אִמְּרָתֵיהּ	3 masc.
	אִמְּרָתָהָא	—	אִמְּרָתָהּ	fem.

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (צְדָקוֹתַי, &c.) is occasionally followed in OJ and PTM (for particulars see Table above). Dalman gives the order of frequency of occurrence of these borrowed *ai* suffixes in OJ as: (1) 3 sing. fem., (2) 1 sing., (3) 3 sing. masc. ־הָ for ־יהּ occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2. 23 some MSS. read אֲבָהָתַי for אֲבָהָתִי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. לֵית, אִית, ETC.

Forms. 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11. 26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) לָא אִית occurs for לֵית. In OTA the forms used are אִיתַי and לָא אִיתַי.

Subject pronouns. 2. In PTM the subject pronouns of these particles are in the nominative forms (e.g. לֵית הוּא). לֵית coalesces with the pronouns of the 1 sing. and 1 plur. and 3 plur. into the compounds לֵינָא, לֵינַן, and לֵיתִנּוּן.

3. In OJ the subject pronouns are generally expressed by suffixes, except in the 3 person plural. The suffixes are *ai* suffixes, because of the original ending of the particles (cf. § 13, note 7, and OTA אִיתַי). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become *ă* and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: אִיתַנִי, אִיתוֹהִי, אִיתֵיכוֹן. The inflected stem of לֵית has two forms, as in לֵיתוֹהִי and לָיְתוֹהִי. In the latter the shewa following yodh is vocal (Dalman, p. 108). The nominative form of the pronoun of the 3 person plural coalesces with לֵית, as in PTM (לֵיתִנּוּן). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9 לֵית אֲנָא יָכֵל).

4. In OTA the subject pronouns of אִיתַי are expressed by means of suffixes of the *ai* form (אִיתֵיכוֹן, &c.).

Usages. 5. אִית and לֵית express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. אִית הָכָא חַד יְהוּדַי 'there is here a Jew' (20. 9). They are regularly combined with לִי, לָךְ, &c., to express the verb 'have'; e.g. אִין לֵית לָךְ פְּרִיטִין 'if you have no money' (15. 9). Sometimes אִית may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. לָא אִית בְּחֵילִי 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ לֵית is used absolutely, like Hebrew אֵין (Gen. 5. 24, 37. 30).

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equivalent to the English copula; e.g. לֵית אֲנָא מַלְכָּא 'I am not a king' (20. 10), לֵית בֵּיתָא הָדֵין חָרֵב 'this house will not be destroyed' (20. 12). A subject noun or pronoun follows לֵית (אִית), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.

Before prepositional phrases, where אִית may also be translated 'is', it really has the sense of 'there is' or 'there exists', e.g. כָּל מָה דְּאִית בַּהּ 'everything that is (there is) in it' (26.14; cf. Dan. 2.30).

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

Reflexive and Passive.		Active.		
אִתְכְּתִיב	Ithpᵉel	כְּתַב	Pᵉal	Simple
אִתְכַּתַּב	Ithpaal	כַּתִּיב	Pael	Intensive
אִתַּכְתַּב	Ittaphal	אַכְתִּיב	Aphel	Causative

1*. The stems having preformative *ith* are reflexives, which serve also as passives.

2*. The Pael, Aphel, and Ithpᵉel of verbs final ה, ח, and ע take pathaḥ for ṣere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

Pᵉal. **3*.** Pᵉal perfects with *ē* or *ū* in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: תְּקִיף 'be strong' (Gen. 1.28) or 'be angry' (Gen. 4.5), דְּחֵיל (Gen. 3.10), קְרֵיב (Gen. 12.1), שְׁאֵיל (Judg. 1.1), שְׁלֵים (Gen. 15.16), נְסֵב and נְסֵיב (Gen. 2.21); דְּמַךְ and דְּמוּךְ (Gen. 2.21). *ō* occurs for *ū* (מְרוֹד, Kahle, p. 219) and *ī* for *ē*, especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 f., 257). In OTA *ē* and *ī* both occur, the latter generally in pause (קְרִב, שְׁאִל, תְּקִף). Where MT has *ī* the supralinear MSS. sometimes have *ē* (Dan. 6.21, זְעֵק).

Haphel. **4*.** Haphels sometimes take the place of Aphels in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are הֵימֵין, הוֹדַע, and הוֹפַע (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

5. In הימין, which is borrowed from Hebrew, the final vowel is *ī* (Gen. 45.26—Berliner) or *ē* (Gen. 15.6—Berliner). Supralinear MSS. give both הֵימִין (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and הֵימֵין (Merx). In Dan. 6.24 the sublinear vowel is *ī* and the supralinear is *ē*.

Ith forms. **6*.** The Ithpᵉel and Ithpaal of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

(*a*) ת of the prefix is assimilated to a following ת, ט, or ד (thus אִתְדַּבַּר becomes אִדַּבַּר).

(*b*) ת changes places with a following sibilant and after צ and ז becomes ט and ד respectively. Examples: אִשְׁתַּמַּע, אִצְטָרַךְ, אִזְדַּרַע.

Ittaphal forms are not affected (אִתַּסְהַד, Exod. 21. 29).

7. In PTM assimilation of ת to פ, ב, מ, נ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: אִתְפְּסִיק = אִפְּסִיק, אִתְבְּרִי = אִבְּרִי (21. 4), אִתְמְלִיךְ = אִמְּלִיךְ, אִתְנְשַׁמַת = אִנְּשַׁמַת (28. 4). Dalman compares *ἐφφαθά* (Mark 7. 34) = אֶתְפְּתַח (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also *Chrest.* 4. 19, מִתְקְנְיָה = מְקָנְיָה.

8. In the supralinear vocalization an intrusive vowel frequently appears after preformative את, in the perfect and other tenses (אִתימנע).

Shaphel, &c. **9*.** Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שַׁכְלֵיל 'complete' (passive אִשְׁתַּכְלַל, Gen. 2. 1), שַׁעְבֵּיד 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שֵׁיזֵיב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שֵׁיצִי 'finish' (Gen. 2. 2). See § 26, note 6.

10. Less common forms are the Pōʿēl and Pāʿēl (both = Arabic iii), with their passives (e.g. זָמִין, Gen. 24. 14). The Pōlēl, Pālēl, and Palpēl are formed from stems ע״ו and ע״ע (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

OTA. **11.** OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Hophals and a perfect passive Pᵉal of the form Pᵉʿīl, especially in the 3 person יְהִיבַת. Dan. 5. 28; יְהִיבוּ, Ezra 5. 14; cf. אֲחִידַת, *Chrest.* 1. 8). Haphels for Aphels and preformative הת for את are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With אֶשְׁתּוֹמַם (Dan. 4. 16) the Syriac forms having preformative אֶת may be compared.

12. Where OJ has *ē* in the final syllable (Pael, Aphel, Ithpᵉel) OTA sometimes has *ē* and sometimes *ī*. It is difficult to make

a general statement on the subject, or to frame an accurate paradigm, because of the paucity of material. The following review includes all perfects, imperfects, imperatives, and participles of verbs other than those ל״א (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and ע״ו and ע״ע (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels *ē* and *ī* in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of *ī* number four, against one of *ē* (Dan. 6. 1); in the imperf. and partic. there is one example of both on each side, of the imperat. no cases at all. In the HAPHEL the perfect (three examples) and the imperative (two examples) have *ē* (excluding הֵימִין, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of *ī* and two of *ē* (viz. תְּהוֹבֵד and תַּחַת), in the participle two cases of *ī*. In the HITHPᵉEL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of *ī* and one of *ē*, and in the participle two examples of *ē*. The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Pᵉal perfects see note 3.

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

Pael.		Pᵉal.		
PTM OJ	OJ	PTM OJ		
	דִּמּוּךְ		כְּתַב	3 s. m.
כַּתִּיב	דִּמּוֹכַת		כְּתָבַת	f.
כַּתִּיבְתָּ -תָּא	דִּמּוֹכְתָּ -תָּא		כְּתַבְתָּ -תָּא	2 s. m.
כַּתִּיבְתְּ	דִּמּוֹכְתְּ		כְּתַבְתְּ	f.
כַּתִּיבִית	דִּמּוֹכִית		כְּתַבִית	1 sing.
כַּתִּיבוּ כַּתִּבוּן	דִּמּוּכוּ	כַּתִּבוּן	כְּתַבוּ	3 pl. m.
כַּתִּיבָא כַּתִּבָן	דִּמּוּכָא	כַּתָּבָן	כְּתַבָא	f.
כַּתִּיבְתּוּן	דִּמּוֹכְתּוּן		כְּתַבְתּוּן	2 pl. m.
כַּתִּיבְתִּין	דִּמּוֹכְתִּין		כְּתַבְתִּין	f.
כַּתִּיבְנָא כַּתִּבְנָן	דִּמּוֹכְנָא	כְּתַבְנָן	כְּתַבְנָא	1 plur.

Table. **1***. The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in *ă*, *ĕ*, and *ŭ*. The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced כְּתָבַת rather than כְּתַבַת (§ 2. 6).

Endings. **2***. The distinctive ending תָּא is more common in OJ than in PTM (Dalman) and is predominant in OTA (תָ).

3*. The PTM plural endings *ūn* and *ān* are borrowed from the imperf. tense, to which they properly belong. *ū* and *ā* also occur in PTM.

4. In PTM ינַ.. occurs for נַ and יתוּן.. for תוּן, especially in Aphels. The *ĕ* may have been transferred from the final syllable of the Aphel (Pael) stem. Dalman suggests the influence of the forms of § 21, note 7. Examples: אַפְקִינַן (25. 5), אַקְלִינַן (23. 9). The form אַתְקִינַן (19. ii. 9) = נַן + אַתְקִין.

Accent. **5***. In OJ only the 2 plur. terminations are accented; in OTA the 2 plur., 3 s. f. (Syriac type—see note 6) and the 1 sing.; in PTM at least the 2 and 3 plur. terminations and possibly, like OTA, the 3 s. f. and 1 sing.

OTA. **6.** In OTA the 3 s. f. has two forms, one of the OJ type and the other resembling the Syriac form. The former occurs in two Peals (בְּטֶלַת, אֲמֶרַת) and in the few cases there are of Hithpeel (הִתְנְוֶרַת) and Haphel (הַדֶּקַת) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (סְלְקַת) and in two of three Hophals (הָחְרְבַת). In the Peal, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (בָּרְכֵת, יְדְעֵת). In the Haphel, besides הֲקִימֶת (§ 33), only הַשְׁבַּחַת (Dan. 2. 25) occurs. The form resembles that of OJ and perhaps its vocalization, which is also that of a 3 s. f. perfect, should be הַשְׁבַּחַת (as הֲקִימֶת) or הַשְׁבַּחַת (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.

Syntax. **7.** In PTM the 2 pl. masc. form is always used for the 2 pl. fem. and frequently the 3 pl. m. for the 3 pl. f. (Dalman).

8. In PTM and OTA perfect tenses alternate with participles in narratives regarding the past (cf. § 21), and the use of successive sentences unconnected by conjunctions (asyndeton) is characteristic, especially of PTM. OJ follows the Hebrew text in its use of conjunctions. The perfect is used to express unfulfilled conditions after אִין (26. 18) and אִלּוּ (21. 11, 24. 1, 27. 12) and sometimes also as the tense of the following apodosis (21. 11), but not generally (see § 22, note 2*f*).

§ 18. IMPERFECT TENSES

Pael.—OJ and PTM		Peal.—OJ and PTM		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
יְכַתְּבוּן	יְכַתֵּיב	יִכְתְּבוּן	יִכְתּוֹב	3 masc.
תְּכַתְּבָן	תְּכַתֵּיב	תִּכְתְּבָן	תִּכְתּוֹב	fem.
תְּכַתְּבוּן	תְּכַתֵּיב	תִּכְתְּבוּן	תִּכְתּוֹב	2 masc.
תְּכַתְּבָן	תְּכַתְּבִין	תִּכְתְּבָן	תִּכְתְּבִין	fem.
נְכַתֵּיב	אֲכַתֵּיב	נִכְתּוֹב	אִכְתּוֹב	1 m. and f.

Stem vowels. **1*.** The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is rarely *ē*, except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (יַעֲבִיד, יְחֵוֵי, יִתֵּין). Pathaḥ is not usual in the imperff. Peal of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of *ū* for *ō* and of *ī* for *ē* may originally have been limited to pausal forms, where it is found with special frequency (Deut. 16. 29).

2*. The stem vowels of other imperff. than the Peal agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יִתְכַּנֵּישׁ, יִשְׁבַּח, יִתְבְּחַר.

Preformative vowels. **3*.** Supralinear preformative pathaḥ (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. Peal (as in Judg. 4. 7, 6. 15), except

in the case of some verbs initial guttural (§ 23), is a usage of late Yemenite MSS. In OTA preformative seghol occurs twice in MT (אֶקְרָא, אֶבְעָא)[1] and ḥireq once (אִנְדַּע).

4*. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly אֵי, and אי is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of ḥaṭeph seghol (§ 2. 8). אֶכְעֲרֵם in the MT of Zech. 7. 14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is אֶחַוֵּא (Dan. 2. 24).

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperff. Pe'al and Aphel an intrusive vowel (ḥireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e. g. יִשְׁלִטוּן = יִשְׁלְטוּן, Deut. 15. 6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithpe'el (§ 16, note 8).

Prefix ל. **6.** Forms of 3 s. m. imperf. with preformative ל (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 565) are found in PTM (21. ii. 6). Examples: לְהֵוִי, לִיכוֹל, לִימוּת, לִיפֵּק (לְפֵּיק, לְמוּת, לֵיכוֹל, לְהֵוִי). They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e. g. in those expressing a purpose (after דְּ and דִּלְא) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms לֶהֱוֵא (לֶהֱוֶה), לֶהֱוֹן, and לֶהֱוֶן occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name יהוה.

OTA. **7.** In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Pe'al are *ū* (יִסְגֻּד), *ă* (יִלְבַּשׁ), and *ē* (יִפֵּל) and those of the impff. Pael and Haphel *ē* or *ī* (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יְהַשְׁכַּח, יְהַשְׁפֵּל). The plural ending *ū* (or *ō*), for *ūn*, occurs twice (§ 29, note 10; § 35, note 5). See also notes 3, 4 and 6.

Syntax. **8.** In PTM the uses of the imperfect tense are very strictly limited:

(1) It is a jussive (21. ii. 6, 26. 17, 27. 6) or imperative (with negative, 16. ii. 4, 19. ii. 7 f., 22. ii. 5; as a polite imperat., 24. ii. 7)

[1] In the supralinear MSS. probably ḥireq, as Dan. 5. 17 (Strack).

and expresses wishes, imprecations (26, last line, 28, second last line) and resolves (18. 9, 28. 6—see (4) below).

(2) It is used after דְּ and דִּלָּא to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after דִּלָּא = lest (24. 3) and after ד (or דלא) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21. 2) and ordering (23. 5).

(3) It is used modally (21. 3), especially in questions (19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7, 24. ii. 2, 25. ii. 8). Cf. note 9 (3).

(4) It is a future tense only when there is an implication of indefiniteness (19. iii. 3 'that I should go out', 22. 1 'should be married', 28. 6, כָּל דְּיֵימַר לִי בַּר נָשָׁא אֶעֱבֵיד 'everything that any one *may bid me* I will do'), in subordinate clauses.

9. In OJ the imperfect tense is used more extensively than in PTM. It is employed:

(1) As an imperative, jussive, and voluntative, expressing commands and exhortations (Gen. 6. 21, Exod. 22. 24, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 23. 8, 13, 1 Sam. 24. 13), and resolves (Gen. 6. 7, Josh. 24.15, 1 Sam. 24. 11).

(2) After בְּדִיל דְּ in purpose clauses (Gen. 12. 13, 27. 25, Exod. 8. 6, 11. 7, Deut. 4. 1, 5. 16, 8. 1, 11. 8).

(3) As the usual equivalent of most Hebrew modal imperfects (to be rendered by may, might, would, should, must, &c.). 'Could' is expressed by an imperfect (2 Sam. 2. 22, 1 Kings 8. 5) or a participle (1 Kings 18. 10, Jer. 24. 2), or by אִפְּשַׁר דְּ with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). 'Can' may also be expressed by אִפְּשַׁר דְּ (Isai. 49. 15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2. 17, 3. 4, 49. 1, Exod. 4. 1, 6. 1, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 1. 3, 18, 3. 5, 10, 13, 18. 8, 23. 5, 1 Sam. 24. 21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following אִם (Gen. 18. 26, Exod. 22. 24, Josh. 23. 12) and אֲרֵי (Hebrew כִּי), Josh. 24. 20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43. 4 f.).

(6) As a future in the past (preterite future)—Gen. 2. 19, Exod. 2. 4, 1 Sam. 22. 22, 2 Kings 13. 14—for which a participle (Gen. 43. 25, 1 Kings 7. 7) or עֲתִיד דְּ with an imperf. (2 Kings 3. 27) are possible alternatives.

10. In OTA the imperfect is used as the ordinary future tense, as a jussive, and in the various modal senses. It is also used in conditional sentences, referring to the future (English indefinite present). It seldom refers to the present or the past.

11. עֲתִיד ('ready', 'prepared') or עֲתִיד לְ, with an infinitive, also expresses future time in OJ and PTM (Gen. 4. 10, 41. 28, Exod. 16. 23; Dalman, *Grammar*, p. 268 f.).

12. Sometimes an imperfect tense depends directly upon a governing verb, without דְּ (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29. 21, רַבָּנָן הָכָא בָּעַיִן נֵיצַלֵּי וְייֵחוֹת מִטְרָא 'Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall'). Cf. בָּעֵל סַמָּא דְמִלְּתָא נְפוֹק לִי מִן הָכָא (19. iii. 3) 'the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here'. For ניצלי and נפוק see note 13.

13. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. impf. (19. iii. 3, 21. 1, 24. ii. 7, 29. 21; Dalman, p. 265 f.). Cf. Dan. 2. 36, and see § 21, note 14.

§ 19. IMPERATIVES

Pael.		Peal.		OJ
כַּתִּיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	כְּתוֹב	2 s. m.
כַּתִּיבִי	מְנַעִי	עֲבִידִי	כְּתוּבִי	f.
כַּתִּיבוּ	מְנַעוּ	עֲבִידוּ	כְּתוּבוּ	2 pl. m.
כַּתִּיבָא	מְנַעָא	עֲבִידָא	כְּתוּבָא	f.
				PTM
כַּתִּיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	כְּתוֹב	2 s. m.
כַּתְּבִין	מַנְעִין	עַבְדִין	כּוּתְבִין	f.
כַּתִּבוּן	מַנְעוּן	עַבְדוּן	כּוּתְבוּן	2 pl. m.
כַּתָּבָן	מַנָּעָן	עַבְדָן	כּוּתְבָן	f.

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1*. In PTM the terminations are accented, in OJ unaccented.

2*. The final stem vowel of an imperative form agrees generally with that of the corresponding imperfect tense (cf. § 18, note 1).

3*. The MSS. of PTM indicate only *u* as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Pᵉal imperatives. *ĭ* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ă* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). עָבְדוּן might have been given as the paradigm form.

4*. In OJ and PTM the plural imperative of the derived stems is the same as their 3 plur. perf. and in some verbs the plural imperat. Pᵉal is also ambiguous (מְנָעוּן, מַנְעוּן).

5. *ἐφφαθά* is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpᵉel, having ת assimilated to פ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's *ears* being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly אֶתְפַּתַּח = אֶפַּתַּח = *ἐφφαθά* (ח not being distinguished from א in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).

OTA. **6.** OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to כְּתוֹב and אַכְתִּיב are כְּתָב (one example) and הַכְתֵּב (two examples).

§ 20. INFINITIVES

BAB	PTM	OJ	OJ	
	מִכְתַּב		מִכְתַּב	Pᵉal
	מִכְתּוֹב			
	מִכְתָּבָא			
כַּתּוֹבֵי	מְכַתָּבָא	כַּתָּבוּת	כַּתָּבָא	Pael
אַכְתּוֹבֵי	מַכְתָּבָא	אַכְתָּבוּת	אַכְתָּבָא	Aphel
אִתְכְּתוֹבֵי	מִתְכַּתָּבָא	אִתְכַּתָּבוּת	אִתְכַּתָּבָא	Ithpᵉel
אִתַּכְתוֹבֵי	מִתַּכְתָּבָא	אִתַּכְתָּבוּת	אִתַּכְתָּבָא	Ithpaal
	מִתַּכְתָּבָא	אִתַּכְתָּבוּת	אִתַּכְתָּבָא	Ittaphal

Orthography. 1*. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by ה, and this orthography is usual in OTA.

BAB. 2. The forms under BAB, which are of Babylonian origin, occur occasionally in OJ (Judg. 3. 26) and PTM (23. 3).

OJ. 3*. The OJ forms in *ūth* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *ā* is unchangeable (קָדְמוּתֵיהּ, Gen. 14. 17).

PTM. 4*. The infinn. of the derived stems in PTM are inflected like feminine nouns (מַפָּקְתְהוֹן, 16. ii. 8—infin. Aphel of נְפַק).

OTA. 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative ה for א (see paradigm, p. 95). הַנְוָקַת (Ezra 4. 22), with construct ending as in PTM, is exceptional.

Infin. Pᵉal. 6*. In OJ and OTA infinn. Pᵉal are inflected as nouns of the B class מִקְרְבֵי, מִקְרְבֵהוֹן (§ 12, note 5). In PTM the termination ־ֵיה (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Pᵉal infinitive before suffixes (מִקְרְבֵנְיֵהּ).

Syntax. 7. The adverbial use of the Hebrew infin. absolute (as in Deut. 15. 4, 5, 8) is exactly reproduced by OJ, and the Pᵉal infinitive form is then generally written מִכְתָּב in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. מְזוּבַן in 2 Sam. 24. 24, Kahle, p. 28). The idiom is infrequent in PTM (Dalman, p. 280).

8. In OJ an infinitive dependent on a governing verb is nearly always preceded by ל, even when there is no preposition in the Hebrew text (Exod. 2. 3, Deut. 1. 19, 2. 25, Num. 22. 14, Judg. 8. 3, Isai. 1. 14). In OTA the use of ל is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with ל (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without ל (19. ii. 10, 27. 2, 3, 6 and 8, 29. 7).

9. A Hebrew infinitive in the nominative case is generally replaced in OJ by דְּ with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.

14. 12, Judg. 18. 19), or a perfect (Gen. 30. 15), or a partic. (Isai. 7. 13). Examples of the retention of the infin. occur in 1 Sam. 15. 22, 29. 6, Isai. 10. 7.

10. The Hebrew negative לְבִלְתִּי is represented in OJ by בְּדִיל דְּלָא לְ (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA לָא לְ with an infin. means 'must not be'.

11. A peculiarity of the syntax of OTA is that a single object noun, with no qualification, stands before a governing infin. (Dan. 3. 16, 5. 16, &c.). Cf. Dan. 2. 12, 3. 19, 5. 7, 7. 25, where the object follows. Objects such as generally follow a governing infin. may also precede the infin. (Dan. 2. 10, 3. 32, 5. 15, &c.) and do so freely in Ezra (4. 14, 5. 13, &c.).

§ 21. PARTICIPLES

Aphel.	Pael.		Peal.	
	PTM	OJ		
מַכְתִּיב	מְכַתִּיב	מְכַתִּיב	כָּתֵיב	active
מַכְתַּב	מְכוּתַּב	מְכַתַּב	כְּתִיב	passive

Ittaphal.	Ithpaal.	Ithpeel.
מִתַּכְתַּב	מִתְכַּתַּב	מִתְכְּתֵיב

Forms. **1*.** Since verbs final guttural and resh have *ă* for *ē* in all final syllables אָמַר is the partic. Peal of אֲמַר, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Pael and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, מְשֵׁיזִיב (Deut. 3. 3, Judg. 12. 5) and מִשְׁתֵּיזִיב (from שֵׁיזִיב, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2*. In OJ *ī* sometimes appears for final *ē* (so עָבִיד in 1 Kings 1. 6, Kahle, p. 28, and מְרַחִים in Deut. 28. 50, Kahle, p. 225).

Peal particc. used as nouns always have *ī* in the supralinear punctuation (so כָּהִין, סָהִיד, פָּרִיק). In OTA *ē* is usual, but eight words have *ī* for *ē*, viz.:

יָכִל, נָחִת, דָּלִק, נָזִק, מָמַלִּל, מַשְׁפִּל, מַצִּל, מְשַׁזִּיב.

3*. The particc. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples: דָּמִיךְ (also דָּמוּךְ) 'sleeping'; רָחִיץ (also רְחִיץ) 'trusting', 'hoping'; דָּחִיל (also דָּחוֹל) 'fearing'.

4*. Words of the form כָּתִיב may have an active sense. Examples: סָבִיר 'thinking'; דָּכִיר 'remembering'; תָּמִיהַּ (? also תָּמֵיהַּ) 'wondering'.

5. The form מְכוּתָּב occurs occasionally in PTM and מְכַתָּב (especially with verbs medial guttural) in OJ (Gen. 2. 9).

Inflexions. **6.** Participles are inflected like nouns of the B class (§ 10, note 7). There is, therefore, no formal distinction between active and passive in the particc. Pael and Aphel when these are inflected (מַכְתְּבָא, &c.). Forms like תמיהין (17. ii. 18), מקילין (23. 8), יתיבא (27. 2), and עבידא (28. 17) occur in the unvocalized texts of PTM and are read by Dalman as עָבִידָא, &c. They do not occur in MSS. having a supralinear vocalization (Dalman, p. 311). Possibly yodh in such cases signifies vocal shewa (§ 2. 8).

7*. Shortened forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons (נָא, נַן, תְּ, and תּוּן) joined to particc. make a new tense form. Examples: יַדְעָנָא (Gen. 4. 9), רָכְבַתְּ (Berliner) or רָכֵיבְתְּ (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, זָרַעְתְּ (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), יָדְעִינַן (25. ii. 8),[1] יָדְעִיתּוּן (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

8. Tense forms got by uniting particc. and perf. terminations also occur, e.g. מְצַלִּוּן (or מְצַלִּין, § 28, note 1), meaning 'they prayed' (Dalman, p. 284).

[1] So Dalman (cf. *Gram.*, p. 290); why not יָדְעִינַן?

Syntax. **9.** In PTM participles take over much of the early usage of imperfect tenses. They serve as an ordinary future tense (15. 9, 16. 5—יָתִיב, 20. 11, 23. ii. 8, 26. 3), and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences (16. ii. 13), and they express promises (15. 10, 20. ii. 11) and general truths (23. 8). With עַד 'while' (14. ii. 4), and in an object sentence dependent on a past tense (16. ii. 11) they are used as past progressives and may sometimes be rendered by an English past tense (24. 2). The use of particc. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—אֲמָרָה).

10. In OJ particc. often represent Hebrew imperff. (or consecutive perff.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18. 15, Num. 11. 12, Deut. 1. 31 and 44, Judg. 7. 5, 10. 4, 1 Sam. 5. 5, 16. 7, 2 Kings 9. 20) or in the past (Gen. 29. 2, Num. 9. 20, Judg. 2. 19, 6. 5, 14. 10, 1 Sam. 1. 3, 6, 7, 2. 13 f. and 19) are expressed by particc. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (*c*).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperf. is rendered in OJ by a participle (Gen. 32. 29 = 32. 30, 37. 15, Exod. 2. 13, 3. 3, Judg. 17. 9, 19. 17, 1 Sam. 1. 8, 25. 10, 28. 16).[1]

So, also, when the Hebrew imperf. denotes continuance of a state through a period in the past (Gen. 2. 25, Exod. 13. 22, 1 Sam. 1. 13, Isai. 10. 7) or the future (1 Sam. 1. 14).

11. In OTA the partic. is the ordinary equivalent of a present tense (Dan. 2. 8) and a very frequent alternative to a perfect in narratives of past events (Dan. 4. 4, Ezra 5. 3). It is also used as a progressive tense, descriptive of events in the present (Dan. 3. 25—מהלכין) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—כתבה), and in stating general

[1] In OJ an imperfect in questions is to be understood as a future (Gen. 16.8), or in a modal sense (Gen. 27. 45, 1 Sam. 17. 8, 28. 15). Cf. § 18, note 9.

truths (Dan. 2. 21). Occasionally it alternates with the imperfect as a future tense (Dan. 4. 29).

12. When the pronoun subject of a partic. is in the third person, it is often left unexpressed (*Chrest.* 15. 11, 16. ii. 3, 20. 8, 24. 10, 27. 9; Dan. 4. 4, 4. 32).

13. A general statement with an indefinite subject is expressed by the plural of a partic. without an explicit subject. Examples: *Chrest.* 27. 11, 'men despise'; Ezra 6. 3, 'men sacrifice'; Dan. 4. 28, equivalent to a passive 'you are addressed'.

14. The 1 pers. plur. of the participle tense (note 7) may be used for the 1 pers. sing. (Dalman, p. 266). Cf. § 18, note 13.

15. Some verbs take as their complement a participle, instead of an infin. Examples: קוּם (14. ii. 1), שָׁרֵי (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), עָבַד (19. 13). שרי ('begin') is used with particc. in the Peshitta, but with infinn. in OJ (Gen. 6. 1, Deut. 2. 31, Judg. 10. 18, 13. 5, 1 Sam. 14. 35) and in OTA (Ezra 5. 2).

§ 22. COMPOUND TENSES

1*. The tenses of the verb הֲוָה 'become' form compound tenses with the participles of other verbs. These compound tenses occur frequently in PTM and are also a characteristic feature of OTA. They are seldom used by OJ.

2. In PTM the perfect of הֲוָה joined to a present participle expresses:

(*a*) *A past progressive tense*, in sentences introduced by 'who' or 'when' (14. ii. 1, 15. ii. 1, 22. 7) and in circumstantial clauses (15. 6, 16. ii. 5). It describes a prolonged state or act in the past, where in English a past tense is a possible (22. 3, 27. ii. 1) or a preferable (16. ii. 5, 16. ii. 8) alternative. The verbs employed are very frequently intrans. verbs denoting state or condition. Examples: כַּד הֲוָה אָתֵי 'when he was coming', וְהוּא הֲוָה יָדַע 'now he

knew'. In the sentence וַהֲוָת בָּכְיָה גּוֹ אִסְטְרָטָה וַאֲמַרִית לַהּ מָה לִיךְ (29. 6) the compound tense possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

(*b*) *A pluperfect progressive tense*, in sentences dependent on a past tense (16. 6, 'he found that he had been selling').

(*c*) *A habit or custom*, in the present (21. 12) or the past (22. ii. 2, 23. ii. 7, 27. 1, 28. 6, 'he used to say').

(*d*) *An act repeated in the past* a number of times, by the same or by different persons (15. 3, 19, ii. 15—כָּל מַאן דַּהֲוָה אָתֵי לְחַפָּן הֲוָה—עָבֵיד כֵּן—21. 13, 22. 7).

(*e*) *A future in the past* (preterite future), 'he lay down beside one of them in order to learn what they would say' (17. ii. 4 f.).

(*f*) *A past conditional*, expressing 'would have' (22. 9, after הֵיךְ, 24. 2, 27. 12, both in apodoses of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

3. The participle tense of הֲוָה (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: הֲוֵינָא מְגַלְיָא 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), מָה הֲוֵינָה מְסָעַר דַּעְתִּי 'How could I have diverted my attention?' (29. 28). For the expression of 'could have' by a compound tense see also note 5.

4. In OTA the uses of the perfect compound tense, so far as they occur, are the same as in PTM. Examples: (*a*) Dan. 2. 31, 5. 19—הֲוֹוֹ זָיְעִין 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (*c*) Dan. 5. 19—הֲוָה קָטֵל 'he used to kill'; (*d*) Dan. 6. 11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (הֲוָא בָּרֵךְ . . . וּמְצַלֵּא) and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (הֲווֹ בָעַיִן). In Dan. 6. 15 הֲוָה מִשְׁתַּדַּר may be classed under (*a*) or (*d*).

5*. In OJ a participle or an imperfect tense is generally used where PTM would use a compound perfect tense. A compound

perfect is, however, sometimes used to describe an act or state extending over a period of time (Gen. 2. 6, 19, Josh. 4. 14, 'as they had reverenced') or repeated at intervals during a period of time (Gen. 31. 18). It is also used in the apodosis of conditional sentences (Judg. 11. 39, 'he would have redeemed') and to express 'could have' (Gen. 43. 7). It is of course the regular equivalent of the same compound tense in Hebrew (Gen. 4. 17, 37. 2, &c.).

6*. The imperfect יְהֵא joined to the present participle of another verb is used (*a*) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after בַּד), (*b*) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (*c*) after דְּ and דִּלְא to express result or effect (*Chrest.* 16. ii. 14, 18. 15, 20. 5; Dan. 6. 3, Ezra 6. 10, 7. 25 f.) or the substance of a command (22. ii. 3 f.). As an alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (*Chrest.* 19. ii. 17; cf. Ezra 6. 8 f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see § 18, note 8 (2).

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5. 19—דִּי הֲוָא צָבֵא—Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8*. הֲוָה joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17. ii. 2, 25. ii. 10; Dan. 6. 4, Ezra 5. 11). יְהֵא with a passive participle is used as a jussive passive (Dan. 3. 18, Ezra 4. 12, 6. 8 f.); cf. note 6.

9. In PTM, as in Syriac, the perfect of any verb may be slightly strengthened by prefixing to it the perfect of הֲוָה (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10. אֱתָא in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20. ii. 10—מִדְּאֲתִי אֲ מְכְבֹּשׁ מְדִינְתָא 'after (he) had conquered the city'.

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ה, ח, ע) and of ר upon the vowels of verbal forms is not as extensive as in Hebrew, but, so far as it goes, is similar in character.

1*. Pathaḥ holds the place of normal ṣere in the final syllable of all parts of verbs final guttural or resh (Pael, Aphel, partic. Peal, &c.). In the final syllable of imperff. and imperatives Peal pathaḥ is usual, but *ō* also occurs before final resh and final 'ayin, especially in PTM. In OTA pathaḥ is used in all the cases covered by this section. The verbs of §§ 27, 32, and 34 are not included.

2*. In the imperf. Peal **preformative pathaḥ** is used in some verbs (e.g. יַחְבּוֹט, יַעֲשׂוֹק, יַעֲבִיד), but ḥireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA תַּעַבְדוּן (twice), יַחְלְפוּן (once) and יֶעֱדֶה or תֶּעֱדֶא (thrice), with the imperfect forms of תָּוֶה (תָּהֱוֶא, &c.), are the only Peal imperff. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathaḥ of יַעֲבִיד equivalent to seghol (hence *Chrest.* 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

3*. Apparently the only **infin. with preformative pathaḥ** is מַעֲבַד. In OTA the form is מָעְבַד (twice) and Dalman follows this analogy in his *Dialektproben* (18. 14, 29. 7).

4*. Pathaḥ furtive is used in the pass. partic. Peal of verbs final guttural (שְׁלִיחַ). See also § 32, note 1.

5*. An **intrusive pathaḥ** separates the termination תְּ from the stem of verbs final guttural. E. g. הִשְׁתְּכַחַתְּ (Dan. 5. 27).

6*. Vocal shewa following a guttural in the supralinear punctuation is to be pronounced as the sublinear **ḥaṭeph** would be. Supralinear pathaḥ in perff. like אַמַר signifies **ḥaṭeph pathaḥ** and ṣere in imperative forms like אֵימַר and עֵיבַר signifies **ḥaṭeph seghol.** See § 2. 7, 8.

7*. An **intrusive ḥaṭeph** (before vocal shewa an intrusive

pathaḥ) is indicated in some MSS. of OJ after initial ע and initial ח in the imperf. and infin. forms of the Peal (Aphel, Shaphel). יַעֲבִיד and מַעֲבַד are most frequently so treated. Cf. Judg. 12. 5 (אַעֲבַר) and 16. 24 (מַחֲרִיב, Hebraism?). In some MSS. after ע an **intrusive ḥireq** is indicated, in harmony with the ḥireq of the preformative syllable (Dalman, p. 93; Kahle, p. 223). For forms with intrusive vowels in OTA see note 2.

8*. In the intensives of verbs medial resh, in which the medial radical is not doubled, the preceding pathaḥ is regularly lengthened into **compensation qameṣ** and, similarly, sometimes before medial ע or א. Examples: בָּרִיךְ, גָּעִיל, כָּאִיב. In Dan. 5. 9 the sublinear reading is מְתָבַהֵל and the supralinear is מְתָבְהַל (or מִתְבְּהַל).

9. א between two vowels was pronounced yodh (Dalman, p. 60), hence PTM in the inflected forms of the active partic. Peal of verbs medial aleph and in the intensive forms of שְׁאֵיל and שְׁאַר writes י for א. PTM שַׁיֵּיל and שַׁיַּר = OJ שַׁאֵיל (Gen. 43. 7—Dalman, p. 305) and שַׁאַר. See also § 33, note 2.

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

נְחַת	סְלַק, סְלִיק	נְסַב, נְסִיב	נְפַק	Peal	perf.
יֵיחוֹת	יְסַק	יְסַב	יִפּוֹק		imperf.
חוֹת	סַק	סַב	פּוֹק		imperat.
חוּתוּ	סַקוּ	סַבוּ	פּוּקוּ		
מֵיחַת	מְסַק	מְסַב	מִפַּק		infin.
מֵיחוֹת	מְסוֹק	מְסוֹב	מְפוֹק		PTM
נָחֵית	סָלֵיק	נָסֵיב	נָפֵיק		partic.
אַחֵית	אַסֵּיק		אַפֵּיק	Aphel	perf.
יַחֵית	יַסֵּיק		יַפֵּיק		imperf.
אַחֵית	אַסֵּיק		אַפֵּיק		imperat.
אַחָתָא	אַסָּקָא		אַפָּקָא		infin.
מַחֵית	מַסֵּיק		מַפֵּיק		partic.

Assimilation. 1*. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impff. and inff. Peal and in all the tenses of the Aphel and Ittaphal. Nun and its vowel (shewa) generally disappear in the imperat. Peal.

2*. In verbs medial ה and medial ע assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, אַנְהָרָא). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, יִנְזוֹף; Gen. 26. 11, יִנְּגַע).

3*. The vocalization of verbs medial ח, according to the supralinear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathaḥ is written in the perfect Aphel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote ḥateph pathaḥ (§ 2. 7).

Peal imperatt. and infinn. 4*. The stem vowels of the imperative Peal do not become vocal shewa in the inflected forms, as they do in Hebrew (see table above). Forms with nun preserved sometimes occur in PTM. סִיב (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to סַב.

5. Infinitives like מְפַק are normal in OJ, and those like מְפוֹק in PTM.

Ithpeel. 6. Ithpeel forms sometimes assimilate ת of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

סליק 7*. In סליק *l* assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infin. Haphel הַנְסָקָה (Dan. 6. 24) is a case of erroneous dissimilation (cf. § 10, note 12).

OTA. 8. So far as examples occur, notes 1–4 apply to OTA. The only verb medial guttural is נָחַת, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (תַּחֵת), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, אַחֵת or אֲחֵת) and partic. (מְהַחֲתִין), but not in the Hophal (הָנְחַת). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נתן (imperf., inf.), נפק (Aphel), and נזק (Aphel). There are two *ē* imperfects, יִפֶּל (as Syriac; OJ יִפּוֹל) and יִנְתֵּן or יִנְתִּן. For the imperat. שְׂא see § 27, note 10, and for סְלֵק, note 7.

§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

Aphel.		Peal.		
אוֹבֵיד	אֲזַל	אֲמַר	אָכַל	perf.
יוֹבֵיד	יֵיזֵיל	יֵימַר	יֵיכוֹל	imperf.
אוֹבֵיד	אֵיזֵיל, אִיזֵיל	אֵימַר	אֵיכוֹל	imperat.
אוֹבִידוּ	אִיזִילוּ	אֵימַרוּ	אֵיכוּלוּ	OJ
אוֹבְדִין	אָזְלִין	אָמְרִין	אָכְלִין	PTM
אוֹבָדָא	מֵיזַל	מֵימַר	מֵיכַל	infin.
מוֹבִיד	אָזֵיל	אָמַר	אָכֵיל	partic.

1*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal and in the Aphel א coalesces with the preformative vowel into *ē* and *ō* respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (אוֹבֵיד, יֵיכוֹל).

Peal imperf. **2*.** The imperfects Peal, that have pathaḥ as their stem vowel, are יֵימַר, יֵיבַד, יֵילַף, and יֵיסַר (but also יֵיסוֹר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathaḥ (in Hebrew ḥolem). יֵיכוֹל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יֹאכַל).

Imperat. **3*.** The supralinear imperatives אֵימַר, אֵיכוֹל, &c., although pointed with ṣere, should probably be pronounced אֶמַר, אֶכוֹל, &c. (§ 2. 8), as in OTA (אֶמַר). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ אֵיזֵיל (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and אִיזֵיל (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is אִיזִילוּ (Josh. 2. 1, 18. 8). In the singular Berliner's *Onkelos* has both *ē* (Deut. 10. 11) and *ī* (Gen. 22. 2, Exod. 3. 16, 33. 1). In all these forms yodh presumably at first represented a hurried vowel (vocal shewa).

4*. Some verbs (e.g. אזל, אתא) use shortened imperatt. Peal as alternatives to the full forms (זֵיל, זִילוּ; תָּא, תּוֹ—in Dalman זֵיל). For the ending *ō* in תּוֹ see § 29.

5*. The stem vowel *i* of the imperat. plur. of PTM is indicated in the texts for some words and may have been the stem vowel of all words of this class. The analogy of the imperat. sing. with suffixes points to *i* or *u* (§ 36, note 9). Dalman's pointing אַוְלוּן and אַכְלוּן (23. 1) seems unlikely.

Aphel. **6*.** Of the Aphels with preformative ṣere that occur in PTM only אֵיבֵיל, הֵימִין and some verbs having both initial א and final א, such as אתא, are recognized by Dalman (p. 298 f.) as correct. The salutation אַיְשַׁר 'hail' (*Chrest.* 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA הימין (§ 16, note 5) and אֵיתִי or אַיְתִי (OTA הֵיתִי, הַיְתִי), from אֲתָא, are used.

Contracted forms. **7.** Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of אלף (יֵלֵיף, מַלְפָא = מַלֵּיף, יְאַלֵּיף, &c.). Contracted Ithpᵉels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. אִתְמַר = אִתְאֲמַר and אִתַּחַד = אִתְאַחַד. There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in אתילד, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

Unusual forms. **8.** יבד and ילף (18. ii. 2) are used as alternative forms of אבד and אלף (cf. § 23, note 9). יֵימָא (=יֵימַר) is a Babylonian form, which occurs in PTM (16. 5). אֶכֵּילְנַן (17. ii. 7) seems to have no parallel and may be an error for אכלין (§ 21, note 7) or אֶכֵּילְנָא.

OTA. **9.** The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the Pᵉal imperf. and infin. (מֵאמַר, יֵאכֵל), except in the cases of מֵתָא and מֵוָא, from אתא and אוא (§ 27). In the Pᵉal imperat. א is generally followed by ḥaṭeph seghol and in אֱוֵל־ (Ezra 5. 15) ṣere is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and אֱוֵה, Dan. 3. 22, = אֱוֵה, pass. ptc. Pᵉal). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has אֲכֵלִי, Strack's supralinear text reads אֱכֵלִי, i.e. אֱכֵלִי (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. הוּבַד (Dan. 7. 11) has the same form as the Hophal of verbs initial yodh. See also note 6 and the table of verbs, p. 96.

§ 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

Aphel.			Peal.		
אוֹטִיב	יָרַת	יָתַב	יָדַע	יָכֵל	perf.
	יָרִית	יָתִיב			
יוֹטִיב	יֵירַת	יֵתִיב	יֵדַע	יְכוֹל	imperf.
אוֹטֵיב	רַת	תֵּיב	דַּע	—	imperat.
אוֹטִיבוּ	רַתוּ	תֵּיבוּ	דַּעוּ		
אוֹטָבָא		מְתַב	מְדַע	מְכַל	infin.
	מֵירַת	מֵיתַב	מֵידַע	מֵיכַל	

Peal prefixes. 1*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal yodh coalesces with the preformative vowel into (1) *ē* and (2) *ĭ* followed by the middle radical doubled. In the imperf. tense *ē* is unusual except before a medial guttural or resh (יֵירַת, יֵיהַב) and the punctuation of the MSS. cannot always be relied on. Examples: תֵּיבַשׁ (Ezek. 17. 10—Kahle, p. 46), יֵיתַב (Deut. 10. 13—Kahle, p. 15; Ezra 7. 18), נֵיכוֹל (Josh. 9. 19, for נְכוֹל 'we are able'), תֵּיכְלוּן (Josh. 24. 19, for תִּכְּלוּן 'you are able'). For OJ forms having shewa as their preformative vowel see note 2.

Stem vowels. 2. Imperff. Peal with *ē* as their stem vowel are יְתֵּיב (OTA יְתַב) and יֵיהֵיב (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יְלִיד (Gen. 3. 16) and יְזִיף (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

Imperat. 3*. The imperatt. Peal are treated like the imperatt. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (יַהַבוּן, יַהַב).

Aphel. 4*. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally *ō* (אוֹנֵיק, אוֹטֵיב). Where *ē* occurs in the MSS. it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 307 f.). Dalman recognizes אֵילִיל in OJ and אֵיתִיב and אֵיתַר as possibly correct in PTM הֵיבֵל occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5*. In OJ הוֹדַע is used for אוֹדַע and the uncontracted forms יְהוֹדַע

and מְהוֹדַע more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

Shaphel. 6. The Shaphel שֵׁזִיב (OTA שִׁיזִיב) 'rescue' has no Pᵉal in use (? = שַׁעֲוִיב). סוֹבֵל (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of יבל, with ס as in some Syriac forms. For שֵׁיצִי (? from יצא) see § 27, note 8.

Ithpᵉel. 7. For elision of yodh in Ithpᵉel forms see § 25, note 7.

יְהַב 8. In PTM forms with elided ה are used (e.g. יְבִית = יְהַבְּתִית, *Chrest.* 29. 8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of נתן take the place of the corresponding parts of יהב and are the only parts of נתן in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to יֵיהַב or יֵיהֵיב and מֵיהַב.

OTA. 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In Pᵉal perff. and imperff. the stem vowel *i* corresponds to OJ *e* (יְכִל, יְתִב; יִתֵּב). In the imperf. Pᵉal preformative *ĭ* and *ē* both occur (יֵיטַב, יִכַּל). יְדַע is always, erroneously, dissimilated to יְנַדַּע (seven times). The normal Haphel form is like הוֹתֵב (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (הוּסַף) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

Ittaphal.	Ithpaal.	Itphᵉel.	Aphel.	Pael.	Pᵉal.	
אִתַּחֲוִי	אִתְחַוִי	אִתְחֲוִי	אַחְוִי	חַוִי	חֲוָא	perf.
אִתַּחֲוָא	אִתְחַוָא	אִתְחֲוָא				
יִתַּחֲוִי	יִתְחַוִי	יִתְחֲוִי	יַחְוִי	יְחַוִי	יְחֲוִי	imperf.
	יִתְחַוָא					
אִתַּחֲוִי	אִתְחַוִי	אִתְחֲוִי	אַחְוִי	חַוִי	חֲוִי	imperat.
אִתַּחֲוָאָה	אִתְחַוָאָה	אִתְחֲוָאָה	אַחְוָאָה	חַוָאָה	מְחֲוִי	infin.
מִתַּחֲוָיָא	מִתְחַוָיָא	מִתְחֲוָיָא	מַחְוָיָא	מְחַוָיָא		PTM
מִתַּחֲוִי	מִתְחַוִי	מִתְחֲוִי	מַחְוִי	מְחַוִי	חָוִי	act. ptc.
מִתַּחֲוָא				מְחַוָא	חֲוִי	pass. ptc.
				מְחַוַי		PTM

Final vowels of stem. 1*. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into *ī* or *ē* or *ă* or *ā*. *ā* occurs only in the perfect Peal (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6). *ă* comes from *ai* (cf. § 13, note 2) and the forms of the paradigm in which it is found seem to be peculiar to OJ (see, however, note 6). In OJ and PTM the distinctive orthography חֲוָה is more common, in this verb, than חָוָא (cf. הוא).

2*. Intransitive perfects Peal ending in *ī* in OJ are: שְׂתִי, סְנִי, חֲדִי, צְבִי, &c. שְׂתִי (or אִשְׂתִי, with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA שתי (or אִשְׂתִי) and צבי occur.

3. Where *ī* appears in the final syllable of imperfects, it may be regarded as due to scribal error (Dalman).

4*. In Yemenite MSS. Peal imperatt. of the form חֲוִי are corrections of חֲוִי under the influence of Hebrew (Diettrich, *ZATW.*, xx, p. 151).

Infin. forms. 5*. In OJ the third radical of feminine infinn. is written aleph but pronounced yodh (cf. § 23, note 9). The writing of yodh twice in forms like מְחַזְּיָא, &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS. ה is used in PTM less frequently than א to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

6. In OJ an infin. Peal of the form מְחָזָא is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form מחזא may have been pronounced מְחָזָא, from מְחָזֵי. In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points *ā* in the final syllable (לְמִחְמָא).

Pass. partic. 7*. The passive partic. Peal is sometimes pointed with final *ī* by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25. 10, Josh. 7. 10).

Shaphel. 8. The Shaphel form שֵׁיצִי 'complete', may be derived from יָצָא. For the *ē* of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

OTA. 9. The vocalic endings of the uninflected forms of the perff., imperff., and participles of OTA are *ā*, *ī*, and *ē*, as in

OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is *ī* (הִתְנַבִּי) and in יִתְקְרִי (Dan. 5. 12). In other cases—when the final vowel is *ā* or *ē*—א or ה is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: בְּעָא and בְּעָה; יִבְעֵא; מִבְעָא; בָּעֵא and בָּעֵה; בְּנֵה. For the form אִוֵּה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is שיציא, the Qere שֵׁיצִי or שֵׁצִי.

10. There are three examples of a 2 s. m. imperat. in OTA, one Pael (מָנֵּי, Ezra 7. 25, for מַנֵּי) and two Peals (חֱיֵי, in Dan. 2. 4, &c., and שֵׁא, Ezra 5. 15, from נְשָׂא).

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (הַשְׁנָיָה, &c). There are, however, supralinear and other MSS. in which aleph is read, as in OJ, by the Qere (see Strack's notes on Daniel 2. 10 and 6. 9).

12. The forms קֳרִי (Ezra 4. 18, 23) and גְּלִי (Dan. 2. 30) or גֳּלִי (Dan. 2. 19) and the plural רְמִיו (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Peīls (§ 16, note 11).

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH
(perfect tenses)

Aphel.		Peal.		Peal.		
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	
	אַחֲוִי		שְׁתִי		חֲוָא	3 s. m.
					חֲוָת	f.
אחויית	אַחֲוִיאַת	שתיית	שְׁתִיאַת			
	אַחֲוִיתָא -ת		שְׁתִיתָא -ת		חֲוִיתָא -ת	2 s. m.
	אַחֲוִית		שְׁתִית		חֲוִית	f.
	אַחֲוִיתִי -ת		שְׁתִיתִי -ת		חֲוִיתִי -ת	1 s. com.
אַחֲזוֹן	אַחֲוִיאוּ	שְׁתוֹן	שְׁתִיאוּ	חֲזוֹן	חֲזוֹ	3 pl. m.
אַחֲזָן	אַחֲוִיאָה	—	שְׁתִיאָה	חֲזָן	חֲוָאָה	f.
	אַחֲוִיתוֹן		שְׁתִיתוֹן		חֲוִיתוֹן	2 pl. m.
	אַחֲוִיתִין		שְׁתִיתִין		חֲוִיתִין	f.
אַחֲוִינָן	אַחֲוִינָא	שְׁתִינָן	שְׁתִינָא	חֲוִינָן	חֲוִינָא	1 pl. com.

Endings. **1*.** The OJ plural terminations וּ (3 masc.) and תּוֹן (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Peal only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM *ōn* and *tūn* (?) and extends the use of *ōn* to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

2*. The distinctive endings תָּא and תִּי occur frequently in OJ and to a less extent in PTM. In OTA the endings of the 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. are תָּ and ת respectively, and there is no example of 2 s. f.

3rd radical. **3*.** Before all consonantal endings the third radical of these verbs coalesces with the preceding stem vowel into *ē* or *ī*, as shown in the table. In *ī* perfects the reading *ē*, for *ī*, by Yemenite MSS. is due to late correctors (Diettrich, *ZATW.*, vol. xx, p. 151 f.).

4*. In the 3 s. f. of *ī* perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (זְנַיְתָ, 18. 3; שְׂרַיְתָ, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (אִתְכְּרַיְתָ, Dan. 7. 15, and הֵיתַיְתָ, Dan. 6. 18). In MT these two forms follow two different systems of punctuation. One of the MSS. used by Strack supplies the variant reading הֵיתְיָת. In PTM אחזיית and אחזיין are unvocalized forms for אַחְוָיְתָ (? אַחְוַיְתָ or) and אַחְוָיְנָן. In OJ א appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all *ī* perfects.

5. In PTM forms of the 3 s. f. and 3 pl. m. perf. Peal, with consonantal yodh retained, sometimes occur. Presumably they were pronounced like חַוְיַת and חַוְיִן respectively (§ 17). Dalman's pointing of חֲמֵית (22. 19) and בְּעֵית (27. 2) seems to follow the analogy of the OTA (Hophal) form הֵיתַיְתָ (note 4). In OTA the Kethibh preserves one 3 s. f. perf. Peal with consonantal yodh (מטית, Dan. 4. 21).

OTA. **6.** In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes *ai* in *ī* perfects (מַנְיְתָ), *ai* in the 2 s. m.

of ordinary perff. Pᵉal (חֲזֵיתָ) and in בְּנֵיתַהּ or בְּנֵיתָהּ 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27), *ē* in other forms (חֲזֵית, בְּעֵינָא). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. Pᵉal the forms חֲזַת and חֲזָת are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints חֲזָת. In other respects the 3 s. f. of perfect tenses agrees with PTM (see notes 4 and 5). There is no example in OTA of a pl. fem. perf.

8. In one 3 pl. m. form (הֵיתַיוּ, § 31, note 6) consonantal yodh is retained and the vocalization is that of the normal verb (§ 17). With this exception the 3 pl. m. is like that of OJ (בְּעוֹ), with a variation of orthography in the *ī* perfects (שַׁנִּיו, אִשְׁתִּיו), which is also found in some MSS. of OJ (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 92). In Dan. 6. 17 and 6. 25 Strack's supralinear text reads הֵיתַיוּ. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is חֲוִיתוּן (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read חֲוִיתוֹן.

9. Baer's reading of seghol for ṣere in the final syllable of pausal imperff. Pael and Haphel (Dan. 2. 4. 7, 24 and 5. 12) is not accepted by Strack.

§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH
(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

Pᵉal.

Plural.	Singular.		Imperfect.
	PTM	OJ	
יְחָזוֹן		יְחֲזֵי	3 masc.
יְחֶזְיָן		תְּחֲזֵי	fem.
תְּחָזוֹן		תְּחֲזֵי	2 masc.
תְּחֶזְיָן	תחזיין תחזיי	תְּחָזֶן	fem.
נְחָזֵי		אֶחֱזֵי	1 com.

PTM APHEL. OJ		PTM PᵉAL. OJ		IMPERATIVE.
אַחְוִי		חֲוִי		2 s. m.
אַחֲוַי	אַחֲוָא	חֲוִי	חֲוָא	f.
אַחְוֹן	אַחְזוֹ	חֲזוֹן	חֲזוֹ	2 pl. m.
—	—	—	חֲוָאָה	f.

Imperff. **1*.** The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination *ōn* is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to PTM. The 2. s. f. endings in PTM are read by Dalman (p. 339) as *ain* and *ai* respectively. תחזיין might be understood to signify תְּחֲוֹן (§ 2. 1).

2*. Consonantal yodh is retained by OJ and PTM in the 2 and 3 plur. fem. of all imperfects (cf. OTA לָהֱוֶן, Dan. 5. 17). For the 2 s. f. in PTM see note 1.

3. Forms like אֶחְוִי (given in Dalman's paradigm) sometimes occur for אַחְוִי (Gen. 24. 14, Merx), but are characteristic of the later Yemenite MSS. (§ 18, note 3).

Imperat. **4*.** The PTM imperative ending *ōn* is got by analogy from the *ō* of OJ and OTA. The 2 s. f. ending *ai* is shortened from *ain* and is the only ending of which Dalman gives examples from PTM. In OJ *ă* = *ai* (cf. § 27, note 1). The 2 plur. fem. form occurs in 2 Sam. 1. 24 (בכאה).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: אֵשְׁתְּ (Pᵉal—Gen. 24. 14), שֵׁי (Pael—Gen. 24. 2), אַעֲךְ or אַעַר (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

6*. The 2 s. m. imperat. of the derived stems is the same as the 3 s. m. perf. in OJ and PTM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in PTM and the Pᵉal imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

Infinn. **7.** Infinitives of the form מְשְׁתְּיָא are found in PTM. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, מְבְנְיָה.

8. Pᵉal infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that א_ is used for *ai* as the suffix of the 1st singular and that ה_ is employed for הָא_. Examples: מְחָוֵא, מְחָוֹהִי. PTM has forms like מְחַמְיֵנֵיהּ or מְחַמְיְנֵיהּ (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (מְצַבְיֵהּ, Dan. 4. 32).

9. Infinitives of the derived stems with suffixes retain the third radical in OJ (אַשְׁקְיוּתֵיהּ, Gen. 24. 9) and are treated like feminine nouns of the F class (§ 12, note 9) in PTM (e. g. מְמַנְיָתֵיהּ from the Pael infinitive מְמַנְיָא).

OTA. **10.** The inflexions of imperfects and imperatt. in OTA, so far as examples are found, are the same as in OJ (cf. notes 1, 2, and 4). There is no case of a feminine imperat. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form יִשְׁתַּנּוֹ (Dan. 5. 10), with *ō* for *ōn*, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH
(inflexion of participles)

Pael.	Peal.	Peal.	
Active ptc.	*Pass. ptc.*	*Act. ptc.*	
מְכַפִּי	חֲוִי	חָוֵי	Sing. m.
מְכַפְיָא	חַוְיָא	חָוְיָא	f.
מְכַפִּין, מְכַפַּיִן	חֲוִין, חַוִין	חָוִין, חָוַן	Plur. m.
מְכַפְיָן	חַוְיָן	חָוְיָן	f.

1*. In the feminine singular and plural of participles consonantal yodh is always retained and in the masc. plural the ending is *ain* in OTA and usually in PTM. In OJ the masc. plural ending is always *ăn*, and this form also occurs in PTM.

2*. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination *ᵉwān* (§ 8, note 11). Examples: רָעְוָן, from רָעִי 'shepherd', and אָסְוָן, from אָסִי 'physician'.

3*. In the inflected forms, when the middle radical is a guttural or a doubled consonant, the supralinear MSS. regularly indicate vocal shewa before consonantal yodh (מְחַפְּנָי, רְעָיָא). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Peal passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4*. Words like חָוֵי with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination *ē* as with a plural ending (מְחוֹהִי, Deut. 25. 11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained ((בְּרִיהּ, 25. ii. 8, from בְּרִי), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ פָּנֵי always retains א with suffixes (Gen. 14. 20, Exod. 20. 5, Deut. 5. 9, 7. 15, 30. 7, 2 Sam. 19. 7, 22. 18, Jer. 49. 7). So also שָׂנְאָהּ, Dan. 4. 16, which is the only example of a suffixed form of these participles in OTA.

5. Examples of tense forms like those of § 21, note 7, are הָוֵינָא (26. 6), fem. שְׁרֵינָא (Dalman, p. 352), מַשְׁקֵית (Deut. 11. 10—Kahle, p. 16), בָּעֵינַן (29. 25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like הַוֵינָא in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31.[1] הָלַךְ, חָיָא, הָוָה, אֲתָא

APHEL.	PEAL.	PEAL.	APHEL.	PEAL.	
אַחֵי	חֵיָא	הָוָה	אֵיתִי, אֵיתִי אַיְתִיאוּ, אֵיתִיאוּ	אֱתָא אֲתוֹ	perf.
יַחֵי	יֵיחֵי	יְהֵוִי, יְהֵי יְהֵוֹן, יְהוֹן	יֵיתֵי יַיְתוֹן	יֵיתֵי יֵיתוֹן	imperf.
	חֵיִי	הַוִי	אֵיתָא אֵיתוֹ	אֵיתָא אֵיתוֹ	imperat.
אַחָאָה		מְהֵוֵי	אֵיתָאָה מֵיתָיָא	מֵיתֵי	infin. PTM
מַחֵי	חָיֵי	הָוֵי	מֵיתֵי	אָתֵי	partic.

[1] To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

1. Several verbs, having stems with both initial aleph and final aleph or yodh, are treated like אָתָא (אבא, אוא, אסא, אפא). Of these only אָתָא has a shortened imperat. form (§ 25, note 4).

2. The imperff. and imperatt. Peal and Aphel of אתא are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). מֵיתֵי is both infin. Peal and partic. Aphel.

Imperat. **3.** In the imperat. Peal the OJ supralinear form אֵיתַא is equivalent to אֶתָא (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original *ai*. In PTM אֵתִי (24. ii. 13), אֶתַא (איתא, 22. ii. 8), and תָּא (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner's *Onkelos* ī is written in אִיתָא, אִיתוֹ, &c. (cf. אִיוִיל). The final vowel of אִיתָא may be corrected into *ă* (similarly in the case of אֵיתָא, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. Peal of אתא is אִיתַא (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or אֵתַי (*Chrest.* 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. אֵיתִיאוּ (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

5. *μαραναθά* (1 Cor. 16. 22) is explained by Dalman (p. 152, note 3) as being מָרַנָא תָּא 'Come, our Lord'. WH and von Soden both divide the word into *μαρὰν ἀθά*.

OTA. **6.** For אֶתָא see table at the end of this section. The OTA passive forms הֵיתֵית (Dan. 6. 18) and הֵיתֵיוּ (Dan. 3. 13) are explained as Hophal forms = הוּתֵית (3 s. f. perf.) and הוּתֵיוּ (3 pl. m. perf.) respectively (Strack).

הוה. **7.** In OJ the longer forms of the imperf. Peal of הָוָה are used only in the plural and (as alternatives) along with אֵיהֵי or אֶהֵי in the 1 sing. In PTM short and long forms are used indifferently and both יְהֵא and יֵי occur. For PTM לְהֵוִי and OTA לֶהֱוֵא, &c., see § 18, note 6. The 3 sing. fem. impf. in OTA is תֶּהֱוֵא or תֶּהֱוֶה. No shortened forms occur in OTA.

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the Peal imperf. of הָוָה are written יְהֵי and יְהוֹן, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

חיא. **9.** In the verb חָיָא the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) Peal and in all parts of the Aphel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also יְהֵי and Hebrew יְחִי. For OTA see table below.

הלך. **10.** In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of הלך elide the medial *l* and assume the forms יָהַךְ (plur. יָהֲכוּן) and מָהַךְ respectively (cf. סליק, § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only Pael forms (cf. OTA מְהַלֵּךְ). The imperf. and infin. Pael also sometimes occur in OJ.

Haphel.	Peal.	Peal.	Haphel.	Peal.	OTA
		הֲוָא, הֲוָה	הַיְתִי	אֲתָה, אֲתָא	perf.
		הֲוֹ	הַיְתִיו	אֲתוֹ	
		לֶהֱוֵא			imperf.
		לֶהֱוֹן			
	חֱיִי				imperat.
		הֲוֹ		אֱתוֹ	
			הַיְתָיָה (הֵיתָיָה)	מֵתֵא	infin.
מַחֵא				אָתֵה	partic.

§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ו)

Ittaphal.	Ithpeel.		Aphel.	Peal.	
	PTM	OJ and PTM			
אִתְקַם	אִתְקִים	אִתְקָם	אֲקִים	קָם	perf.
אִתּוֹקַם					PTM
יִתְקַם	יִתְקִים	יִתְקָם	יָקִים	יְקוּם	imperf.
—	אִתְקִים	אִתְקָם	אֲקִים	קוּם	imperat.
—	—	אִתְקָמָא	אֲקָמָא	מְקָם	infin.
		מִתְקָמָא	מָקָמָא	מְקוֹם	PTM
מִתְקַם	מִתְקִים	מִתְקָם	מְקִים	קָאֵים	partic. act.
				קִים	partic. pass.

Stem vowels. **1.** The stem vowels of the Pᵉal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfects in ī** are מִית 'die', סִיב 'be old', and רִיר 'spit'. **Imperfects in ē** are יְבִית, יְכִים, and יְדִין (or יָדִין) from בָּת 'pass the night', שָׂם 'place', and דָּן 'judge'. **Verbs final guttural** generally have *ū* in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. יְנוּחַ), but זָע 'shake' has imperf. יְוּוַע and imperat. זַע (plur. זְעוּ). Pathaḥ furtive no doubt always followed *ū* in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperff. in *ē* have **imperatives in ī** (בִּית, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

2*. In supralinear MSS. the Aphel stem vowel *ē* (perf. and imperat.) is sometimes written *ī* and the stem vowel *ī* (imperf. and partic.) is sometimes written *ē*. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Aphel with pronominal suffixes appears to be normally *ī* (אֲקִימַהּ, Josh. 24. 26; Gen. 47. 7, Num. 27. 22; Dan. 3. 1, 5. 11).

Preformative vowels. **3.** The preformative vowels of the Pᵉal are sometimes treated according to the analogy of verbs ע״ע (§ 34), so that forms like יְקוּם and יֵיחוּם, מְקָם and מֵיחוֹם occur. Examples: יְמוּת, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), יְהוּב, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), יֵיחוּם, Exod. 12. 23.

4*. The preformative vowel of the imperff., imperatt., infinn., and particc. Aphel is often written *ā* in supralinear MSS. Examples: אָתְבָא אָתִיב (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), אָנְחָא (Judg. 1. 1), אָנַח (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), אָקִים (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), מָנַח (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative *ā* occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יָהָקִים (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and מָהָקִים (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is *ō*.

5*. When supralinear pathaḥ is written in the perfect and imperative Aphel instead of preformative vocal shewa, it may be understood to denote vocal shewa (§ 2. 7), rather than to indicate a form according to the analogy of verbs ע״ע (§ 34).

Ithpᵉel. **6.** In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithpᵉel is sometimes

written *ă* (אַתְּנַח, Judg. 5. 20) and the ת of the preformative syllable may become ד before initial ד (hence אִדְּדָן = אִתְּדָן).

Intensives. 7*. The intensive forms in use are קַיֵּם, קָיֵם (OJ supralinear), קוֹמֵם, קָמֵם (OJ supralinear), and קַמְּקֵם. The passive of the Palpel is like מְטַלְטַל (Gen. 4. 12) or מְטֻלְטַל (Gen. 4. 16).

Verbs medial waw. 8*. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are חָוַר, עָוַר, רָוַח, רָוַז 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, הָוָה, שָׁוָא, &c.

OTA. 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the PeAL and HAPHEL are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Haphel the stem vowel *ī* occurs as an alternative to *ē* (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) *ē* occurs as an alternative to *ī*. Preformative ḥaṭeph seghol occurs in one Haphel form in most (?) MSS. (הֳקִימֵהּ, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHPeEL is *ā* in one verb (יְתְהַשָּׁם) and *ī* in another (יְתְחִוִּין). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are קַיָּמָה (Dan. 6. 8), מְרוֹמֵם (Dan. 4. 34) and הִתְרוֹמַמְתָּ (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, הָקִימַת (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form שִׁמַּת (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written שִׁמַּת (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

APHEL.		PeAL.		
Imperat.	*Perfect.*	*Partic.*	*Perfect.*	
אֲקִים	אֲקִים	קָאֵם, קָיֵם	מִית	קָם
אֲקִימִי	אֲקִימַת	קָיְמָא	מִיתַת	קַמַת
	אֲקִימְתְּ -תָּא		מֵיתְתְּ -תָּא	קַמְתְּ -תָּא
	. . .		. . .	. . .
אֲקִימוּ	אֲקִימוּ	קָיְמִין	מִיתוּ	קָמוּ
אֲקִימָא	אֲקִימָא	קָיְמָן	(מִיתָא ?)	קַמָא

Peal perff. **1*.** The forms of the table are those of the supralinear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. Peal is *ā* only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA *ā* is the stem vowel throughout the perf. Peal, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his *Dialektproben*. The inflected forms of מית are treated like those of perfects in ṣere.

Particc. **2*.** In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected participle Peal has the form of verbs medial aleph. In the inflected forms yodh is written for aleph in both OJ and PTM. In OTA the inflected forms have א in the Kethibh and י in the Qere, except in קָאֲמָיָא (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain א in OJ and sometimes in PTM (1 Sam. 8. 10, 1 Kings 2. 20; *Chrest.*, 20. 14). Cf. § 23, note 9, and Dalman, p. 305.

OTA. **3.** In OTA the termination of the 1 s. pf. is *ĕth* (שְׂמֶת, Ezra 6. 12; הֲקִימֶת, Dan. 3. 14). For the form יְחִיטוּ (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע״ע)

Aphel.		Peal.		
אַעֵיל	אַבִּיו	עַל	בַּז (בָּז)	perf.
יַעֵיל	יַבִּיו	יֵיעוֹל	יְבוֹז	imperf.
אַעֵיל	אַבִּיו	עוֹל	בּוֹז	imperat.
אַעָלָא	אַבָּוָא	מֵיעַל	מְבַּז	infin.
מַעֵיל	מַבִּיו	עָלֵיל	בָּזֵיז	partic. act.
מַעַל	מַבַּז	עֲלִיל	בְּזִיז	ptc. pass.

Disyllabic stems. **1*.** Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithpeels, and Shaphels. Examples: מַלֵּיל, אִתְבְּזִיז, שַׁכְלִיל. See also § 35, note 4.

2*. The intensive forms are of the types עַלֵּיל, עוֹלֵיל (especially PTM), עָלֵיל (OJ), and עַלְעֵיל. עֵיֵיל is borrowed from the ע״ו stems (§ 32). The use of עָלֵיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מְקָצִין (25. 4) is the passive participle of this form.

Stem vowels. **3*.** The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Peal, which is pathaḥ in Syriac and OTA, is always *ā* in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is either *ō* or *ă* (יִבּוֹז, יֵיחַם).

Preform. vowels. **4*.** The imperf., imperat., and infin. Peal and all the tenses of the Aphel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infin. Peal preformative *ĭ* is lengthened to *ē* before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (יִרוֹק, Lev. 15. 8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (מְחַן, Dan. 4. 24; תֵּרַע, Dan. 2. 40).

Participles. **5.** In PTM the participle form עָיֵיל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of עָלֵיל. In OJ contracted plurals like עָלִין, for עָלְלִין, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA עללין (K^{e}thibh) is replaced by עָלִין or עָלִין or עַלִּין (Dan. 4. 4, 5. 8).

6. Aphel participles like מיקל and מיצן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

7. מַעֲלָה (25. 5), from מַעַל, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מַקִּילִין (23. 8) see § 21, note 6.

Borrowed forms. **8*.** The forms appropriate to ע״ו stems (§ 32) are transferred to verbs of this class in the cases named in notes 2, 3, and 5, and in others also (e.g. in Judg. 6. 26 תְּקוֹן = תְּקוֹן).

Ittaphal. **9.** The Ittaphal forms are like אִתְּעַל and אִתַּחַל.

OTA. **10.** For the P^{e}AL perf. see note 3, and for the only examples of imperf. infin. and partic. see notes 4 and 5. There are three types of INTENSIVES in OTA: מַלֵּל (three verbs), מְרָעַע (Dan. 2. 40), and אֶשְׁתּוֹמַם (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative

pathaḥ becomes seghol before עָ (הֶעֱלָה, Dan. 5. 7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (הַנְעֵל, Dan. 2. 25, 6. 19, and הַנְעֲלָה, Dan. 4. 3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (הָעַל).

§ 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS
(inflected forms)

Aphel.		Peal.		
Perfect.		**Perfect.**		
Plur.	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	
אַעֵילוּ	אַעֵיל	עַלוּ (עָלוּ)	עַל (עָל)	3 masc.
אַעֵילָא	אַעֵילַת	עַלָא	עַלַת	fem.
אַעֵילְתּוֹן	אַעֵילְתְּ -תָּא	עַלְתּוֹן	עַלְתְּ -תָּא	2 masc.
אַעֵילְתִּין	אַעֵילְתְּ	עַלְתִּין	עַלְתְּ	fem.
אַעֵילְנָא	אַעֵילִית	עַלְנָא	עַלִית	1 com.
Imperfect.		**Imperfect.**		
Plur.	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	
יַעֲלוּן	יַעֵיל	יֵיעֲלוּן	יֵיעוֹל	3 masc.
תַּעֲלוּן	תַּעֵיל	תֵּיעֲלוּן	תֵּיעוֹל	2 masc.
נַעֵיל	אַעֵיל	נֵיעוֹל	אֵיעוֹל	1 com.
Imperative.		**Imperative.**		
Plur.	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	
אַעֵילוּ	אַעֵיל	עוּלוּ	עוֹל	2 masc.
אַעֵילָא	אַעֵילִי	עוּלָא	עוּלִי	fem.

1*. Following Dalman's precedent, and in accordance with the analogy of OTA, the final radical has been doubled in the above table, before vocalic endings, in the Peal perfect and imperative, but not in the Aphel. In Berliner's *Onkelos* doubling is not indicated in any tense.

2*. In the 3 pl. m. perf. Peal the stem vowel *ā* (appropriate to ע״י stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for *ă*. The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. Peal in OTA is treated in this way (דָּקוּ, Dan, 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

3. Supralinear pathaḥ in imperf. forms like יִיעַלוּן (Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, p. 15) may be regarded as representing ḥaṭeph pathaḥ (§ 2. 7).

4. Peal and Aphel forms like רקקת (PTM), עללת (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and תַּטְלֵל (Dan. 4. 9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

OTA. **5.** The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative PeAL the stem vowel is *ō* (גְּדוּ, Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (הֶעַלּוּ, Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel (*ē*) becomes vocal shewa, it is written ḥaṭeph seghol in some MSS. (מַהֲקָה, Dan. 7. 7, 19, תַּהֲקַנַּה, Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יַחֲטוּ (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for יַחֶטוּ (cf. § 2. 8, 9). But the tense, termination (§ 18, note 7) and possibly stem vowel (cf. § 34, note 8) are all abnormal. There is no other example of the 3 plur. imperf. Haphel of an ע״ע verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for הַדָּקֶת or הַדֶּקֶת (Dan. 2. 34, 45), § 17, note 6.

§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

1*. For the various forms of the accusative suffixes see pp. 90–91. In PTM the suffixes added to verbal stems ending in a consonant are those of § 4 and the suffixes added to stems ending in a vowel are presumably those of § 12, note 2, although the only possible vocalic stem is the 2 sing. fem. perf. (for the 2 s. m. and the 3 pl. see notes 3 and 5). In OJ the variations from the suffixes of §§ 4 and 12 are in the 1 singular, נִי or נִי_ for *ī*, and in the 3 plural,

where the independent pronoun אִנּוּן is substituted for הוֹן (וֹן). For the forms of the suffixes added to the 3 s. f. perf. see note 6. In OJ, in agreement with the Hebrew text, the suffix of the 2 plural is rarely found. It seems never to occur with a 3 sing. masc. perf. stem.

2*. In OJ אִנּוּן is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, א being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to נּוּן with the 3 s. f. perf. and to נוּן in union with stems ending in a vowel (שְׁלַחְתִּנּוּן, שְׁלַחְתִּנוּן, שְׁלַחוּנּוּן). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before אִנּוּן except in the 1 s. perf., in which כְּתַבְתִּית, כַּתִּיבְתִּית and אַכְתִּיבְתִּית are used for כְּתַבְתִּי, &c.

3*. The difference between PTM and OJ in the endings of the 3 plur. perf. and 2 plur. imperat. involves a further difference in the suffixes attached to these forms. PTM uses the suffixes appropriate to the consonantal ending *ūn*, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending *ū*. Examples: אַפְקוּנֵיהּ (25. ii. 2), אַפְקוּהִי (Gen. 19. 16).

Perfect 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. **4.** For the stem forms of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pe*al* and Aphel with suffixes see paradigm, p. 90. Pael perfects are treated like Aphels. In the suffixed forms of the perfects Pael and Aphel the final stem vowel generally becomes vocal shewa both in the 3 sing. and the 3 plural (אַפְקוּהִי, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, אַמְלִיכוּנֵיהּ, 21. 1, אַמְלִיכוּנִי).

OJ plural forms are sometimes found in PTM (26. 8, נַצָּחוּהִי). Sometimes the vowel points in Dalman's *Dialektproben* are unnecessarily those of OJ, instead of being those of PTM. In 21. ii. 7 יְהַבוּנוּן should be יְהָבוּנוּן, and in 28. 5 אַרְפוּנוּן should be אַרָפוּנוּן.

2 sing. and 1 sing. **5.** In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like כְּתַבְתִּי, &c. The 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. com. with suffixes of the 3 s. m. or 3 pl. (where

ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form פְּתַבְתְּ for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like אַשְׁכַּחְתַּהּ 'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. שְׁבַקְתַּנִי (Gen. 31. 28) = *σαβαχθανεί* (Matt. 27. 46), having a suffix of the first person, can only mean 'thou hast forsaken me'. In PTM the 2 s. m. is clearly distinguished from the 1 sing. com. by its employment of the termination *inn* (note 8) before suffixes (שְׁבַקְתִּנִּי, אַשְׁכַּחְתִּנַּהּ). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination *ī* before suffixes (אַשְׁכַּחְתִּיהָא).

3 s. f. **6*.** The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (מְלַכְתֵּיהּ 'she counselled him', Judg. 1. 14). All the cases noted by Praetorius (Judg. 1. 14) are forms in which the suffix is 3 s. m. The unambiguous forms are: שְׁלַחַתְנִי, שְׁלַחַתְנָא, שְׁלַחְתְּכוֹן, שְׁלַחַתְנוּן ; שְׁלַחַתָּךְ, שְׁלַחַתֵּיהּ, שְׁלַחַתַּהּ.

1 plur. and 2 plur. **7.** The suffixed stem of the 1 plur. perf. in OJ is the same as the independent stem, but written without א (שְׁלַחְנָהִי). Instead of שְׁלַחְנָהָא the form שְׁלַחְנַהּ is used. In PTM the forms שְׁלַחְנָת, &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains ת as derived from the accus. particle יָת (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like שְׁלַחְתּוּ in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like שְׁלַחְתּוּן in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

Imperf. stems. **8*.** The stems of imperfects with suffixes are treated similarly in OJ and PTM. The syllable *inn* is added to the stems of all imperfects (cf. Hebrew יַעַבְדֻנִי), except in OJ before the 3 plur. masc. suffix. The suffixes are the same as those added to perfect stems. (See paradigm, p. 90 f.). The orthography יְרַדְּפִנּוּן for יְרַדְּפִנּוּן and יַרְדְּפִנּוּן for יְרַדִּיפְנוּן in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Diettrich in *ZATW.* xx. 152).

Imperat. stems. **9.** In OJ singular imperative stems with suffixes remain unchanged and the suffixes are those of § 12, except in the cases of the 1 sing. and 3 plural. In PTM the Pael and

Aphel singular imperat. stems with suffixes are identical with the corresponding perfect stems. The Pᵉal imperat. stem is distinguished from its perfect by the vowels *ĭ* or *ŭ* following the initial radical. These vowels are sometimes indicated in the MSS. by yodh and waw respectively.

The imperative plural stem in OJ is like כְּתָבוּ and in PTM like כְּתִבִין (see paradigm, p. 91). Pael and Aphel perfect and imperative plural forms are generally not distinguishable. The Aphel imperat. in OJ occasionally retains its final stem vowel (e. g. אַפֵּיקוּהָא 'bring her out' = אַפְּקוּהָא).

ע״ו stems. **10*.** The forms of ע״ו verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

Syntax. **11.** The use of an anticipative pronominal suffix before a definite accusative governed by a verb, an idiom characteristic of Syriac, is found occasionally in OJ (Gen. 39. 15, שַׁבְקֵיהּ לִלְבָשַׁיהּ לְוָתִי 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, פַּקְּדֵיהּ לִשְׁלִיחָא 'he ordered the messenger'; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by דְּ is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, אַשְׁכְּחֵיהּ דַּהֲוָה מְזַבִּין 'he found that he had been selling'). It is idiomatic to put the subject of such a dependent clause into the principal sentence as an object (16. ii. 11, חֲמָא לָהֳהוּא דְּזָבִין דְּקָאֵים בָּתְרֵיהּ 'he saw that the buyer was standing behind him').

13. Occasionally the object pronoun of the 3 plural is used indefinitely for 'some people' (28. 4, חֲמָתוּן קָטְלִין 'he saw some men killing' (mice); for the verbal stem חמת see § 37, note 1).

§ 37.[1] VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH ל״א STEMS

Perf. 3 s. m. **1.** In PTM the termination of 3 s. m. of all perfects with suffixes is treated like the ending of a feminine noun

[1] To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: חֲמָתֵיהּ and חֲמַיְתֵיהּ (or חֲמֵיתֵיהּ), כַּפִּיתֵיהּ, אַיְתַיְתֵיהּ. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Peal חֲמָתֵיהּ is always ambiguous, 'he saw him' or 'she saw him' (note 5).

2. In OJ the 3 s. m. perf. Peal with suffixes either retains (consonantal) א (חֲזָאֲךָ, חֲזָאֵיהּ, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (חֲזָךָ, חֲזָהִי). With אִנּוּן the suffixed forms are like חֲזָנּוּן.

3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. **3.** In OJ the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes generally preserve the third radical yodh. Examples: אַשְׁרְיֵיהּ (Gen. 2. 15), אַיְתֵיהּ (Gen. 2. 22), אַטְעֵנִי (Gen. 3. 13), אֵיתְיוּהִי (Judg. 1. 7). With אִנּוּן the ordinary stem is used (אַחֲוִינּוּן).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Peal perfects (25. iii. 7, מַחְיוּנֵיהּ = מַחֲנֵיהּ), and in perfects of the derived stems (cf. notes 1 and 5).

3 s. f. **4.** In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of *ī* perfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to יתּ. before suffixes. Examples: אַשְׁקִיתֵיהּ, כַּפִּיתֵיהּ (Judg. 4. 19), אֵיתִיתָךְ (*Chrest.* 18. 13). In PTM these are also imperative forms (note 7).

Perf. stems. **5.** In the other parts of the perfect tenses suffixes are generally added to the unchanged verbal stem. Examples: חֲזָתֵיהּ (3 s. f.), חֲזֵיתָהִי (OJ 2 s. m), חֲזֵיתֵיהּ (1 sing.), חֲזוֹהִי (OJ 3 pl. perf. Peal), חֲזוּנֵיהּ (PTM 3 pl.). For חֲמֵינָתֵיהּ (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

In some supralinear MSS. the ending of the 3 pl. m. pf. Peal with suffixes is written *ū* instead of *ō* (מְחוּהָא, Judg. 1. 8; מְחוּנּוּן, Judg. 1. 4).

Impf. stems. **6.** In all imperf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding נ to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: יְחֲוִינֵיהּ, יְחֲוֹנֵיהּ. When אִנּוּן is used the forms are like that of יְחֲוִינּוּן. In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before *nn* are *i* instead of *ē*, and *ū* instead of *ō* (יְחֲוִינֵיהּ, יְחֲוּנֵיהּ). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.

Imperat. stems. 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (אַחֲזֵנִי, חֲזוֹהִי). In some MSS. *ū* is written for *ō* and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אַחְזֵנָּא, Judg. 1. 24).

In PTM the termination *ī* of the 2 s. m. is treated like a feminine termination (23. ii. 7, אֵיתִיתֵיהּ). 2 pl. m. forms are like אַרְפּוֹנוֹן (for which in 28. 5 Dalman puts אַרְפִּנוּן).

Participles. 8. *nn* is used with other suffixed stems than those named above, e. g. with participles (29. 7, מְפַגְּנֵיהּ, i.e. מְפַגְּנֵיהּ).

§ 38. VERBAL SUFFIXES IN OTA

Suffix forms. 1. The forms of the verbal suffixes in OTA and the treatment of the stems to which they are attached agree closely with the corresponding features of OJ. The accusative pronoun 'them' is not expressed by a suffix but by some one of three independent pronouns—הֵמּוֹ (eight times), הֵמוֹן (three times), and אִנּוּן (Dan. 6. 25). The suffixes attached to verbal stems vary according as the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. In the former case, they are the same as the suffixes joined to nouns, except that נִי is 'me' and that נָא is written for נָא in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: נִי, ךְ (2 s. m.), הִי (§ 12), נָא, and כוֹן.

Perf. stems. 2. The stems of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. of all perfects are treated as in OJ (see OJ paradigm, p. 90). Examples: חַבְּלוּנִי, הַקְרִבוּנִי, חַתְּמַהּ, הַשְׁלְטָךְ.

The only examples of other parts of a perfect tense with suffixes are two of the 2 s. m. in Dan. 2. 23 (הוֹדַעְתַּנִי and הוֹדַעְתֶּנָא) and one 1 sing of a ל״א verb (note 5).

Imperf. stems. 3. Imperfects with suffixes closely resemble those of OJ and PTM (§ 36, note 8). נ is combined with stems ending in a consonant and נּ with stems ending in a vowel. Exam-

ples: יְתִנַּנֵּהּ, יְשַׁמְּשׁוּנֵּהּ. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m. כָּ is written, without daghesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (יְשֵׁיזְבִנָּכוֹן, Dan. 3. 15; יְשֵׁאלֶנָּכוֹן, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without *nn* (יְבַהֲלֵנִּי, Dan. 4. 16; יְבַהֲלִנִּי, Dan. 5. 10).

Imperat. stems. **4.** The only imperatt. with suffixes in OTA are הַעֲלֵנִי (Dan. 2. 24), חַבְּלוּהִי (Dan. 4. 20), and one from a ל״א verb (note 5). They agree with the forms of OJ (§ 36, note 9).

ל״א verbs. **5.** There are seven cases in OTA of ל״א verbs with suffixes attached. The PERFECT form בְּנַיְתַהּ 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27) is peculiar in having *ai* for *ē* (§ 28, note 6) and seghol for vocal shewa. Some MSS. read בְּנֵיתַהּ. The other cases of perfect stems with suffixes (שְׁנוֹהִי, בְּנָהִי) agree with the practice of OJ (§ 37, notes 2 and 5).

In the 3 s. m. IMPERFECT before נ the ṣere of the independent form (יְחַוֶּה) is replaced by ḥireq (יְחַוִּנַנִי) and in the plural *ō* is replaced by *u* (תְּהַחֲוֻנַנִי, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only ל״א IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphel הַחֲוֹנִי (Dan. 2. 6).

ע״ו verbs. **6.** No change takes place in the stems of ע״ו verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

PARADIGM OF VERB (OJ)

P^{e}AL	P^{e}AL	PAEL.	APHEL.	ITHP^{e}EL	ITHPAAL.	ITTAPHAL.
Perfects.						
כְּתַב	קָרַיב	בַּתִּיב	אַכְתִּיב	אִתְכְּתִיב	אִתְכַּתַּב	אִתַּכְתַּב
כְּתַבַת	קָרְיַבַת	בַּתִּיבַת	אַכְתִּיבַת	אִתְכְּתִיבַת	אִתְכַּתַּבַת	אִתַּכְתַּבַת
כְּתַבְתָּא -תְּ	קָרְיַבְתָּא -תְּ	בַּתִּיבְתָּא -תְּ	אַכְתִּיבְתָּא -תְּ	אִתְכְּתִיבְתָּא -תְּ	אִתְכַּתַּבְתָּא -תְּ	אִתַּכְתַּבְתָּא -תְּ
כְּתַבְתְּ	קָרְיַבְתְּ	בַּתִּיבְתְּ	אַכְתִּיבְתְּ	אִתְכְּתִיבְתְּ	אִתְכַּתַּבְתְּ	אִתַּכְתַּבְתְּ
כְּתַבִית	קָרְיַבִית	בַּתִּיבִית	אַכְתִּיבִית	אִתְכְּתִיבִית	אִתְכַּתַּבִית	אִתַּכְתַּבִית
כְּתַבוּ	קָרְיַבוּ	בַּתִּיבוּ	אַכְתִּיבוּ	אִתְכְּתִיבוּ	אִתְכַּתַּבוּ	אִתַּכְתַּבוּ
כְּתַבָא	קָרְיַבָא	בַּתִּיבָא	אַכְתִּיבָא	אִתְכְּתִיבָא	אִתְכַּתַּבָא	אִתַּכְתַּבָא
כְּתַבְתּוֹן	קָרְיַבְתּוֹן	בַּתִּיבְתּוֹן	אַכְתִּיבְתּוֹן	אִתְכְּתִיבְתּוֹן	אִתְכַּתַּבְתּוֹן	אִתַּכְתַּבְתּוֹן
כְּתַבְתִּין	קָרְיַבְתִּין	בַּתִּיבְתִּין	אַכְתִּיבְתִּין	אִתְכְּתִיבְתִּין	אִתְכַּתַּבְתִּין	אִתַּכְתַּבְתִּין
כְּתַבְנָא	קָרְיַבְנָא	בַּתִּיבְנָא	אַכְתִּיבְנָא	אִתְכְּתִיבְנָא	אִתְכַּתַּבְנָא	אִתַּכְתַּבְנָא
Imperfects.						
יִכְתֹּוב	יִקְרַב	יְבַתִּיב	יַכְתִּיב	יִתְכְּתִיב	יִתְכַּתַּב	יִתַּכְתַּב
תִּכְתֹּוב	תִּקְרַב	תְּבַתִּיב	תַּכְתִּיב	תִּתְכְּתִיב	תִּתְכַּתַּב	תִּתַּכְתַּב
תִּכְתֹּוב	תִּקְרַב	תְּבַתִּיב	תַּכְתִּיב	תִּתְכָּתֵיב	תִּתְכַּתַּב	תִּתַּכְתַּב
תִּכְתְּבִין	תִּקְרְבִין	תְּבַתְּבִין	תַּכְתְּבִין	תִּתְכַּתְּבִין	תִּתְכַּתְּבִין	תִּתַּכְתְּבִין

קטל		קטל				
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל			
				Participles.		
קטל, קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל
			Infinitives.			
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל
קטל	קטל	קטל	*Imperatives.*	קטל	קטל	קטל
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל
קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל	קטל

PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

Perfect.

Aphel.		Pe al.	Aphel.		Pe al.
3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.	PTM	3 sing. m
אַרְדְּפוּנִי	רַדָּפוּנִי	רַדְפוּנִי	אַרְדְּפַנִי	רַדְפִי	רַדְפַנִי
אַרְדְּפוּךְ	רַדָּפוּנָךְ	רַדְפוּךְ	אַרְדְּפָךְ		רַדְפָךְ
אַרְדְּפוּהִי	רַדָּפוּנִיהָ	רַדְפוּהִי	אַרְדְּפֵיהָ		רַדְפֵיהָ
אַרְדְּפוּהָא	רַדָּפוּנַהָ	רַדְפוּהָא	אַרְדְּפַהָ		רַדְפַהָ
אַרְדְּפוּנָא	רַדָּפוּנַן	רַדְפוּנָא	אַרְדְּפַנָא	רַדְפַן	רַדְפַנָא
—	—	—	—	—	—
אַרְדִּיפוּנוּן	רַדָּפוּנוּן	רְדַפוּנוּן	אַרְדֵּיפְנוּן	רְדַפְהוֹן	רְדַפְנוּן

Imperfect.

3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.	PTM	3 sing. m.
יַרְדְּפוּנַנִי	יְרַדְּפוּנִי	יְרַדְּפוּנַנִי	יַרְדְּפַנַנִי	יְרַדְּפִנִי	יְרַדְּפַנַנִי
יַרְדְּפוּנָךְ	יְרַדְּפוּנָךְ	יְרַדְּפוּנָךְ	יַרְדְּפָנָךְ		יְרַדְּפָנָךְ

וַיַּרְפֵּנִיהוּ	וַיַּרְפֵּנִיהוּ	וַיַּרְפֵּנִיהוּ			
וַיַּרְפֵּנָּה	וַיַּרְפֵּנָּה	וַיַּרְפֵּנָּה			
וַיַּרְפֵּנָּא	וַיַּרְפֵּנָּא	וַיַּרְפֵּנָּא			
וַיַּרְפֵּנוּן	וַיַּרְפֵּנוּן	וַיַּרְפֵּנוּן			
וַיַּרְפֵּנוּן	וַיַּרְפֵּנוּן	וַיַּרְפֵּנוּן			

Imperative.

2 plur. m.	PTM	2 plur. m.	2 sing. m.	PTM	2 sing. m.
אַרְפֵּנִי	רַפֵּנִי	רַפְּנִי	אַרְפִּינִי	רְפִי (ל)	רְפִּי
אַרְפֵּנִי	רַפֵּנִי	רַפְּנִי	אַרְפִּינִי	רְפִי (ל)	רְפִּי
אַרְפֵּנִיהוּ	רַפֵּנִיהוּ	רַפְּנִיהוּ	אַרְפִּינֵיהוּ	רְפֵהוּ (ל)	רְפֵהוּ
אַרְפֵּנָּה	רַפֵּנָּה	רַפְּנָהּ	אַרְפִּינָהּ	רְפֵהָ (ל)	רְפֵהָ
אַרְפֵּנָּא	רַפֵּנָּא	רַפְּנָא	אַרְפִּינָא	רְפָא (ל)	רְפָא
אַרְפֵּנוּן	רַפֵּנוּן	רַפְּנוּן	אַרְפִּינוּן	רְפוּ (ל)	רְפוּ
אַרְפֵּנוּן	רַפֵּנוּן	רַפְּנוּן	אַרְפִּינוּן	רְפוּ (ל)	רְפוּ

Personal pronouns (*nominatives*).

אֲנָא		אֲנַחְנָא, אֲנַחְנָה	1 com.
אַנְתְּ (אנתה)		אַנְתּוּן	2 masc.
—		—	fem.
הוּא		אִנּוּן, הִמּוֹ	3 masc.
הִיא		אִנִּין	fem.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

that	הוּא	דֵּךְ, דִּכֵּן,	this	דְּנָה masc.
		דָּךְ, דִּכֵּן, —		דָּא fem.
those	אִנּוּן	אִלֵּךְ,	these	אִלֵּן, אִלֵּין
				אֵל (אלה)

Inflexion of Nouns.

יוֹם	חֵיוָה	שְׁאֵלָה	Singular absolute.
יוֹם	חֵיוַת	שְׁאֵלַת	construct.
יוֹמָא	חֵיוָתָא	שְׁאֵלְתָּא	emphatic.

יוֹמִין	חַיָּן	שְׁאֵלָן	Plural	absolute.
יוֹמֵי	חֵיוָת	שְׁאֵלָת		construct.
יוֹמַיָּא	חֵיוָתָא	שְׁאֵלָתָא		emphatic.

Nouns with suffixes.

Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	
שְׁאֵלְתִּי	חֵיוָתִי	חֵיוָתִי	יוֹמַי	יוֹמִי	1 sing.
שְׁאֵלְתְּךָ	חֵיוָתָךְ	חֵיוָתָךְ	יוֹמָךְ (יומיך)	יוֹמָךְ	2 s. m.
					f.
שְׁאֵלְתֵּהּ	חֵיוָתֵהּ	חֵיוָתֵהּ	יוֹמוֹהִי	יוֹמֵהּ	3 s. m.
שְׁאֵלְתַּהּ	חֵיוָתַהּ	חֵיוָתַהּ	יוֹמַהּ (יומיה)	יוֹמַהּ	f.
שְׁאֵלְתַּנָא	חֵיוָתַנָא	חֵיוָתַנָא	יוֹמַנָא (יומינא)	יוֹמַנָא	1 plur.
שְׁאֵלְתְּכוֹן	חֵיוָתְכוֹן	חֵיוָתְכוֹן	יוֹמֵיכוֹן	יוֹמְכוֹן -כֹם	2 pl. m.
					f.
שְׁאֵלְתְּהוֹן	חֵיוָתְהוֹן	חֵיוָתְהוֹן	יוֹמֵיהוֹן -הֹם	יוֹמְהוֹן -הֹם	3 pl. m.
שְׁאֵלְתְּהֵין	חֵיוָתְהֵין	חֵיוָתְהֵין	יוֹמֵיהֵין	יוֹמְהֵין	f.

	P°AL.	P°AL.	PAEL.	HAPHEL.	HAPHEL.	HITHP°EL.	HITHPAAL.	HOPHAL.
							Perfect.	
3 s. m.	כָּתַב	קָרֵב [1]	כִּתֵּב [1]	הִכְתִּיב	הַשְׁבִּיחַ	הִשְׁתַּכַּח	הִתְכַּתֵּב	הָכְתַּב
f.	כָּתְבַת							הָכְתְּבַת
	כָּתְבָה	קָרְבַת		הִכְתִּיבָת		הִשְׁתַּכְּחַת		
2 s. m.	כָּתַבְתָּ -תָּ	קָרַבְתָּ -תָּ		הִכְתַּבְתָּ -תָּ		הִשְׁתַּכַּחְתָּ		
f.								
1 sing.	כָּתַבְתִּי		כִּתַּבְתִּי		הִשְׁבַּחְתִּי			הָכְתַּבְתִּי
3 pl. m.	כָּתְבוּ	קָרְבוּ	כִּתְּבוּ	הִכְתִּיבוּ	הִשְׁבִּיחוּ	הִשְׁתַּכְּחוּ	הִתְכַּתְּבוּ	
f.	כָּתְבָה					הִשְׁתַּכְּחָה		
2 pl. m.	כְּתַבְתֶּם						הִתְכַּתַּבְתֶּם	
f.								
1 pl.	כָּתַבְנוּ	קָרַבְנוּ			הִשְׁבַּחְנוּ			
							Imperfect.	
3 s. m.	יִכְתֹּב	יִקְרַב	(יְמַלֵּל) [1]	יַכְתִּיב [1]	יַשְׁבִּיחַ	יִתְיַהֵב [1]	יִתְכַּתֵּב	
f.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּקְרַב		תַּכְתִּיב [1]		תִּתְיַהֵב [1]	תִּתְכַּתֵּב	

2 s. m.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּקְרַב	[1] (תִּקָּרֵב)	תִּכָּתֵב - תֵּב	תִּהַשְׁפַּח	
f.						
1 sing.[2]						
3 pl. m.	יִכְתְּבוּן	יִקְרְבוּן	יְכַתְּבוּן	יְהַכְתְּבוּן		יִתְיַהֲבוּן	יִתְכַּתְּבוּן
f.	יִכְתֹּבְנָה	יִקְרַבְנָה					
2 pl. m.	תִּכְתְּבוּן	תִּקְרְבוּן	תְּכַתְּבוּן	תְּהַכְתְּבוּן		תִּתְיַהֲבוּן	
f.							
1 pl.	נִכְתֹּב	נִקְרַב			נְהַשְׁפַּח		
Imperative.							
2 s. m.	כְּתֹב	אֱמַר		הַכְתֵּב			
f.	כְּתֹבִי						
2 pl. m.	כִּתְבוּ	אִמְרוּ	כַּתְּבוּ		הַשְׁפְּחוּ		
Infinitive.							
	מִכְתַּב	מִקְרַב	כַּתָּבָה	הַכְתָּבָה	הַשְׁפָּחָה	הִתְיַהֲבָה	הִתְכַּתָּבָה
			כַּתָּבוּת	הַכְתָּבוּת			הִתְכַּתָּבוּת
Ptc. act.	כָּתֵב		[1] (מְמַלֵּל)	[1] מְהַכְתֵּב			מִתְכַּתֵּב
			[1] (מְהַלֵּךְ)	[1] מַכְתֵּב			
Ptc. pass.	כְּתִיב		מְכַתָּב	מְהַכְתָּב		[1] מִתְיַהֵב	מִתְכַּתָּב

[1] See § 16, note 12. [2] See § 18, notes 3 and 4.

Table of Verbs

	פ״נ	פ״א	פ״י	פ״ו	ל״א	ע״ו	ע״ע
				PᵉAL.			
Perf.	נְפַק	אֲמַר	יְתִב	יְדַע	בְּעָא	קָם	עַל
Imperf.	[יִפַּק]	יֵאמַר	יִתֵּב	יִנְדַּע	יִבְעֵא	יְקוּם	(יֵרַע)
Imperat.	פֵּק	אֱמַר		דַּע		קוּם	
Infin.	[מִפַּק]	מֵאמַר			מִבְעֵא		(מְחַן)
Ptc. act.	נָפֵק	אָמַר		יָדַע	בָּעָא	קָאֵם	
Ptc. pass.					בְּעָא	(רִם)	
				HAPHEL.			
Perf.	הַכְתֵּב		הוֹבֵד	הוֹתֵב	הוֹדַע	הֲקִים	הַדֵּק
Imperf.	יְהַכְתֵּב				יְהוֹדַע	יְקִים	יַדֵּק
Imperat.	הַכְתֵּב						הַדֵּק
Infin.	הַכְתָּבָה	הַצָּלָה	הוֹבָדָה		הוֹדָעָה	הֲקָמָה	הַדָּקָה
Ptc. act.	מְהַכְתֵּב					מְהָקֵים	מְהַדֵּק
	מַכְתֵּב	מַאֵל				(מָנִיחַ)	מַדֵּק
Ptc. pass.	מְהַכְתַּב						